

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

IRRATIONALISM DISPLAYED.

In urging upon dissenters the duty of commencing forthwith an earnest agitation for the separation of church and state, we have been charged by "The Author of Jethro" with proffering "irrational" advice. We think that, under such circumstances, we may fairly claim permission to gather up from our past labours such scattered observations as may serve to throw light upon our present counsel; and, by combining them into one whole, afford our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves how far that counsel is devoid of reason. We put in no demand for the praise of originality. We have no desire to advertise our own sagacity. We are far from wishing to blow a trumpet before our wisdom. If we are justly chargeable with irrationality, we share the disgrace with the greatest and the best of men who have ever set themselves to overturn a serious evil. If, on the contrary, there be aught of merit in our plan, it is but the merit of looking straightforward to the object we profess to seek, and of taking the most obvious and direct path to its attainment.

We have laboured, we trust, not altogether in vain, to engrave upon the conscience of the nonconforming body, its duty to attempt a complete dissolution of the union now subsisting between church and state. We have striven, with persevering and yet unabated zeal, to induce them to set out upon a course which, followed up with religious determination, must eventually conduct them to the wished-for goal. We have exhorted them to originate and to carry forward an agitation which shall cover the lengths and breadths of their principles. What did all this imply?

What practical steps does it, of necessity, involve, the taking of which argues an entire abeyance of reason? What must dissenters do in compliance with advice of this nature, and what is there in their doing of it which should be taken as insanity? It is a point worth consideration. Of the term "irrational," we may say as John Foster did of the term "methodist"—"If there is no sense in the word as now applied, there seems, however, to be a great deal of aptitude and execution.... There is satiric smartness in the word, though there be none in the man. In default of keen faculty in the mind, it is delightful thus to find something that will do as well, ready bottled up in odd terms." As we know how easy it is, by merely brandishing an epithet like this, to frighten the timid and to check the inquiring, we deem it important to unveil the kind of agitation to which it is sought to be applied.

That agitation, then, involves, in the first place, a distinct, formal, and solemn exposition of the evils inflicted by church and state alliance, of the dishonour it puts upon the name of Christianity, and of the innumerable impediments it throws in the way of the practical success of the gospel. Such an exposition would of course be tantamount to a declaration of war against the existing system. It ought to go forth to the world, not as embodying the opinions of an individual, or of an isolated sect, but as expressing the deliberate conclusions of the nonconforming body. A manifesto of this nature, drawn up in appropriate terms, pervaded by a becoming spirit, agreed upon by representatives of the entire community of nonconformists, and published with the full weight of their authority, would at once clear the ground for future proceedings. At present it is scarcely known by ourselves, it is utterly mistaken by others, what it is we are driving at. Surely it is due to truth, if not to ourselves, to allow obscurity to rest upon this point no longer. We have recently been engaged in a sharp contest with the government respecting the Factories bill. Energetic as has been our opposition, few appear to have made out the principle upon which it has been based. There was, throughout the encounter, a nervous fidgettiness exhibited by our leading men lest the agitation should run into the channel of broad and well-defined principle. Could their influence have prevailed, no mortal would have been able to divine that the tap-root of the evil complained of was the existence of a state church. It behoves us, therefore, *in nomine*, to let the world see the ultimate object we have in view, and the main reasons which prompt us to pursue it—to set forth in clear terms, and with appropriate seriousness, the whole extent of that change in ecclesiastical affairs

which we deem to be required by the interests of truth.

Having thus announced the scope of our future agitation, care must be taken as to the direction in which it shall start. It makes all the difference, whether we go about to wield the force we have, or to create a force which we may, hereafter, wield to advantage—whether we march, on the instant, to assault the citadel, or whether we betake ourselves, previously, to beat up for recruits—whether, in a word, we bring the present amount of public opinion to bear upon the legislature, or whether, satisfied that it is, at present, inadequate, we bestir ourselves to make it tenfold what it is. The introduction of the Factories bill must have sufficed to convince us that dissenters, when thoroughly aroused, constitute by no means a weak body. What, then, is our policy? Obviously to arouse dissenters. How may this be done? We may reply to this question by another. How was it done in their late conflict with intolerance? How, but by using all available and legitimate means to enlighten the public mind? The press was set and kept in motion. Ministers pointed out to their flocks the sinister designs and oppressive bearings of the contemplated measure. Sunday-school teachers were gathered together and addressed on the subject. Here there were lectures; there, public meetings. Short, pithy tracts flew about like snow flakes in a February blast. Every one who possessed a talent employed it. All who had voices to raise, raised them, careless of the consequences which their boldness might provoke. Now, we ask, what is there irrational in doing that for the separation of church and state, which we did so effectively for the defeat of Sir James Graham? Let "The Author of Jethro" try his "irresistible argument, persuasive eloquence, and animating exhortation" in this new and nobler sphere! Let the Patriot put in motion that strangely powerful apparatus, with which, according to its own estimate, it wrung concession from a tory government! Let Dr Reed sit at the King's Head, Poultry, as chairman of a central committee! Let our metropolitan dissenting divines show themselves as interested in their principles as they are in their position! Let those who see evils of superlative magnitude in an establishment risk offending a few wealthy hangars-on of dissent, and denounce those evils! Is there aught irrational in this—anything extraordinarily difficult—anything which can fairly bring it within reach of the charge of insanity? For our part we discern nothing in it but what might be—what ought to be—or what, ere separation is effected, will be.

That the struggle, in this instance, will necessarily be a protracted one, we allow; but, is that any reason why the popular mind should not be forthwith imbued with a correct knowledge of our principles? Who shall undertake to say what happy junctures may hereafter occur, for the successful application of the power of public opinion, when once that opinion shall have been formed? Without this instrument we shall be unable to cut asunder the connexion between church and state, let what will occur. It is clearly, therefore, our policy to fashion it immediately, and to keep it bright and sharp for future use. Of what avail is it to be perpetually hammering into our ears the dogma, "The time is not come?" The time never will come but as we ripen it. The rook that would catch worms must be astir at earliest dawn. All things have a beginning and an end. From this universal law, the agitation for the abolition of a state church is not exempt. Whether it be or not irrational to begin forthwith, is a question which we may safely leave to the decision of our readers. We should have thought that party more open to the charge who cherish hopes of the end, but refuse to make a beginning—who laugh at the work as hopeless with the present amount of public opinion, and who, yet, throw cold water upon all direct attempts to augment its volume and its force.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

THE repeal movement has pushed the Irish church into a position of unenviable prominence. That branch of the establishment thrives best in the shade. It is a rank, noxious, and deadly weed, which flourishes most when least exposed to light. Darkness is its congenial element. The agitations which let in upon it the rays of heaven's sun may well excite its anxious fear. It is now once again

thrust upon public notice, and once again all political parties are compelled, openly or tacitly, to admit its injustice. Mr Ward, the erst outrider of the whigs and their "appropriation clause," has given notice of a motion on the subject in the house of Commons. The *Morning Chronicle*, faithful representative of the party now aspiring to remount the steps of office, plaintively requests Mr Ward to desist. The motion will necessitate a vote; and the *Morning Chronicle* sees in a formal vote on this question an infinitude of mischief. Discussion, says the wily organ of whiggery, would do good; but a division could be followed by nothing but evil. The secret of the matter is this—the first would afford Lord John Russell a fitting opportunity for dealing out those liberal generalities which seem to mean so much, but which practically signify nothing—the last would place him in a majority with the tory government, and thus unmask him before the proper time. We wish the member for Sheffield may persevere, if it be only to gauge the depth of Lord John's sense of the injustice involved in the maintenance of the Irish church. We wish—but dare not hope—and heartily shall we rejoice if, happily, we are disappointed.

The established church in Ireland is the church of the minority; therefore, say the whig-radicals, its existence is both an anomaly and an injustice. In respect of the injustice, we do not clearly see the "therefore." Were it the church of the majority it would be equally unjust, although its oppressive character would not be so glaringly displayed. That which, when done by a minority, inflicts a real grievance upon a majority, is, when done by a majority, precisely as tyrannical towards the minority. It matters nothing whether few act and many suffer. The wrong is the same, whether inflicted by one on millions, or by millions on one. The real nature of a grievance cannot be ascertained by the relative numbers of those who do and those who bear. This is one of the current fallacies of modern political morality, according to which injustice ceases to be injustice when visited upon minorities. The establishment of a faith to which the majority of a kingdom are in hostility is said to be an outrage upon their feelings, a perpetual blister upon their hearts. Be it so! But is it not equally an outrage when the few are dissenters as when the many? We know well that to sin against majorities is less safe, but is it more unrighteous? The plain truth of the matter is, that an established church is an injustice *per se*. It cannot be reared at all, but upon the ruins of some men's rights. When those rights are those of the millions, the tyranny is only the more obvious, not the more oppressive—when they are those of a minority, the wrong inflicted is not less grievous, but only less obtrusive and palpable. That which to millions is an insult, cannot be otherwise to a few hundreds. Circumstances cannot change the nature of evil.

At a time when the very principle of ecclesiastical establishments is likely to come under serious discussion, it is of the last importance that the public mind be kept clear of all delusive formulas, all questionable forms of speech and modes of reasoning. The established church in Ireland is more oppressive in that country than our own state church is in this, only because they who suffer bear so much larger a proportion to them who enjoy. It is not harder upon individuals there than here, but it presses upon a greater number of them. Substantially the thing is just as unfair in Great Britain as in Ireland. We are anxious that this should be kept in mind. They who are likely to handle the matter in parliament, will, in all probability, attempt to throw this view of it into the shade. We shall have the subject so argued as to create opinion against a state church, only in cases wherein the maintenance of a state church becomes obviously unsafe. It will be said that, in England, the establishment is both politic and just—that what is, in the sister kingdom, a monster evil, is, nearer home, an inscrutable blessing. The fact will be wholly blinked, that two or three millions of dissenters, to say nothing of the masses who are too generally absentees, are as oppressively dealt with by an ascendant sect, as are the six millions of the Irish Roman catholics. We hope, therefore, it will be borne in mind that "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander"—and that what is injustice in one island cannot be a beneficial institution in another.

ORIGINAL

A CHURCH RATE SCENE AT WEST HACKNEY.—On Thursday morning a meeting of the rate payers of this parish was held at the National School house, to make a rate for the ensuing year. After some preliminary altercation, Mr Clarke charged the authorities with intimidation in the course of their recent active canvass. The charge was indignantly denied by the rector and the churchwardens, and loud cries of "name" proceeded from all parts of the room; upon which Mr Griffin, a respectable baker, confronted Mr Westbrook, and, amid vehement applause, detailed the result of an interview with that gentleman, who, he said, promised him an order for the "churchwarden's bread," if he would vote for the rate. Mr Westbrook essayed an explanation, but the cries of "scandalous," "disgraceful," &c., prevented him from being heard. Great uproar ensued; and, after a time, Mr G. Ovenden moved as an amendment to Mr Seear's motion, "That in the opinion of this vestry Christianity is dishonoured, and its progress impeded, by all compulsory payments levied for its support; and that, therefore, this vestry declines to make a church rate." The Rev. C. J. Dukes, independent minister, seconded the amendment in an energetic speech, during the delivery of which he was indecently interrupted by persons in the vicinity of the chair. J. Scoble, Esq., supported the amendment in a speech of much force and eloquence, and was loudly applauded throughout. The Chairman then put Mr Seear's motion, and a long and angry debate ensued, Mr Pulby and the Chairman declaring the course pursued to be perfectly in order; the liberals, on the other hand, charging the authorities with trickery. Business was, in consequence, suspended for upwards of an hour, and on the restoration of order, another protracted discussion ensued on the proper designation of Mr Ovenden's amendment, which the legal adviser of the parish of St John, Hackney, construed into a "proposition." The Chairman refused to put it in any other shape, and, a violent rush was then made towards the chair; and, after some deliberation with Mr Pulby, the Chairman, in perfect dumb show, put the motion for a rate, for which about a dozen hands were held up. He then put the "proposition," for which no hands were held up, and declared the rate carried. The announcement was received with shouts and execrations long continued. Mr Scoble then prepared a protest, and ascended the table; when the Chairman, under advice, declared the meeting dissolved. The scene here we shall not attempt to describe, farther than to state that the rector and the authorities quitted the room, followed by the shouts and howls of the meeting. Mr Matron was then called to the chair; and the number for Mr Ovenden's amendment was declared to be 69. After some animated speeches denunciatory of the conduct of the Chairman and Vestry Clerk, Messrs Clarke, Dukes, Matron, Prior, and Dalton were appointed to draw up an address to the inhabitants; and the meeting was dissolved.

CHURCH RATES.—WESTBURY.—A meeting was called for the 3rd of July, to consider the propriety of laying a rate for the chapelry of Dilton, parish of Westbury, Wilts. C. L. Phipps, Esq., one of the county magistrates, was called to the chair. Mr Stafford moved, and Mr Hall seconded, a rate of 4d. in the pound. The Rev. W. Leask of Chapman-slaide inquired the objects of the rate. The Chairman refused to reply to that question, saying, "You may oppose the rate if you choose, but remember the consequences, for I am determined to enforce it." Mr Leask immediately submitted an amendment, which was seconded by the Rev. J. Lawrence, to the effect, "that consideration of the rate be postponed till this day twelvemonths." Mr Leask then insisted that the amendment be put to the meeting. After some hesitation on the part of the Chairman, this was done, and carried by a large majority. Mr Phipps, however, refused to declare the state of the votes, again and again saying that he did not care how they voted, as he was determined to lay the rate. Mr Leask asked why the rate-payers had been called together at all, seeing the churchwardens claimed the right of doing as they chose? Mr Phipps: I have nothing to do with that; ask Sir H. J. Fust. I shall read his decision [taking up a copy of the "Justice of the Peace"]. Mr Leask: It is not necessary, sir; I know all about it. Mr Phipps: Well, Mr Leask, you must take the consequences of your opposition to the rate. I will sue you before the Ecclesiastical court. Churchwardens, are you prepared to prosecute? A voice: Yes, sir. Mr Leask: And I am prepared to defend. After the names of both parties had been taken down (it will be observed the church party did not demand a poll—Is this legal?) Mr Phipps declared the meeting over. Mr Leask: I beg pardon, sir, you have yet to declare the rate rejected for twelve months by a large majority. Mr Phipps: I will do no such thing. Mr Leask then called out to the rate-payers not to move until the Chairman had declared the result of the meeting. Mr Phipps then rose and said: I declare a church rate of 4d. in the pound, laid by a minority of this meeting. Mr Leask: Mark the expression, gentlemen; the Chairman says a minority!

CHURCH RATES AND THE STATE CHURCH.—At a special general meeting of the Hackney Anti-church-rate association, held on Monday evening, the following resolution was carried, with only two dissentients:

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the only remedy for church rates, and all other ecclesiastical exactions, is the severance of church and state."

A GOOD EXAMPLE.—The Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Bath, has just published a tract entitled "What David did; a reply to the Queen's letter, containing reasons for not urging upon his parishioners a collection in behalf of the society for building churches." The following is an interesting extract:

"I object to the term *bounty* when applied to the working clergy. If a man buy goods and pay for them, both parties are even. If the labourer give six days' labour for six days' wages, there remains no obligation on the part of him who did the work, or of him who paid the money. I have performed certain specified services, and I have received the specified income: where then is the bounty? The workman is worthy of his meat; and when he has earned it, he ought not to be ashamed to eat it. More than seventeen years ago, when I came to this place, there had been no resident clergyman: there was no parsonage house, no school-room, and there was only one service in the church on the sabbath. I commenced and have ever since continued two full services; and though frequently called to a distant part of the kingdom, yet it is more than two years since I have been absent from my church one single Sunday. By the assistance derived from various quarters, I erected a parsonage house; and, by assistance from other quarters, I erected our excellent schoolroom, in which, for fifteen years, there has been a daily school. I established a village library, containing three hundred volumes; and a clothing club, which, for ten years, by the weekly subscriptions of the parties themselves, has provided clothing for a great portion of the labouring class. I introduced the system of allotments of land; and, by the kind co-operation of the proprietor of one of our chief estates, more than sixty families have had allotments of land during the last ten years, with great benefit to the tenants themselves, and without the loss of any rent to the landlord. Within the last five years our Bible association has circulated, in this and two neighbouring villages, six hundred copies of the Old and New Testament, at a cost of 160*l.*, and has sent 18*l.* as a free gift to the parent society. Our Temperance society has proved to the inhabitants, by the testimony of reclaimed drunkards, and by the annual festival upon the lawn of the parsonage, that men may do their work and enjoy cheerful recreations without the excitement of intoxicating drinks. But, above all, as chairman of the select vestry for two years, and as guardian of the parish, unanimously elected to represent the ratepayers in the Bath Union during the six following years, I have been able, with the assistance of the intelligent inhabitants, to banish pauperism from the place. In a population of eight hundred I found more than one hundred receiving out-of-door relief, and all the evils of poverty, intemperance, and vice, in their most degraded form; whereas for several years there has not been a pauper living amongst us, except an occasional case of sickness confining the parties to bed; the few that have not been able to maintain themselves, to the number of about fourteen, being comfortably lodged in the excellent workhouse of the Bath Union; and the poor rates, which were formerly 70*l.* a year, and on one occasion 1,000*l.*, have been reduced to 200*l.* a year. The pleasure I have derived from seeing the wonderful restoration of the most abject paupers to a state of honourable independence and self-support, has exceeded that arising from any other service I have been able to render. During the performance of these and other arduous labours, I have received as the perpetual curate of this parish rather less than 90*l.* a year. I have not complained of the amount; I have not requested from any quarter a better living: but I will not allow, without contradiction, this return for my labours to be called *bounty*."

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF PUSEYISM.—The following extracts, from a short summary of the history of Puseyism, given by the *Observer*, will doubtless excite interest at the present time:

"In the year 1833 the late Rev. Dr Rose, of King's college, the Rev. Mr Percival, Dr Pusey, and two or three other clergymen, met at the house of the first-named rev. gentleman, when, talking over the progress of dissent, and the unpopularity and even practical neglect into which high church principles had fallen of late years, they came to a resolution to form themselves into a society, though without any formal organisation, to use their utmost efforts to revive and bring into practical recognition the class of principles to which we have referred. The celebrated "Tracts for the Times" had their origin in the meeting in question. These tracts appeared at irregular intervals, and were published at prices varying, according to the quantity of matter, from twopence to sixpence. The tracts soon attracted general attention, from the startling doctrines they advanced; and as the tendency of all of them was to exalt the authority of the church, and increase the importance of the clergy, by investing them with a special sacredness of character, the new class of opinions made rapid progress among them. Every successive tract became bolder and bolder in its tone, and approached nearer and nearer the doctrines of the church of Rome. The principal writers were Dr Pusey, the Rev. Mr Ward, the Rev. Mr Williams, the Rev. Mr Newman, and one or two others. The series proceeded until it reached No. 90, which so openly and strenuously advocated Popish principles, that the Bishop of Oxford felt called upon to interpose his authority, and put an end to the further publication of the tracts. The last of the series, No. 90, created a deep sensation, especially as it was soon discovered that it had contributed to make several individuals go openly over to the church of Rome.

"Puseyism has made extraordinary progress in the church within the last three years. It is calculated that out of 12,000 clergy in England and Wales, 9,000, or three-fourths of the whole, are deeply tainted with it. In Scotland, again, the *whole* of the episcopal clergy, with the exception of three or four, are decided Puseyites. In Ireland, also, the heresy is making alarming progress. It is calculated that the majority of the bench of bishops are more or less deeply tinged with it. Those of the prelates who most openly advocate Puseyite principles are the Bishop of Exeter, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Oxford. Among the churches and chapels in London in which Puseyite practices prevail to the greatest extent, will be found Shoreditch church and Margaret street chapel, Oxford street. In the latter place it would be difficult to perceive any difference between the form of worship and that observed in a Roman Catholic church. In many of the Puseyite churches and chapels daily worship has been established, and in all of them, we believe, the sacrament is administered weekly. We understand it is likely the subject will be soon brought before parliament, and the question to be determined will be, whether a protestant country ought to be called on to pay from 6,000,000*l.* to 7,000,000*l.* a year to the established clergy for inculcating popish principles, and observing popish practices, in their places of worship, in entire disregard of the solemn engagements they came under at their ordination, to maintain the protestant religion of the land."

PUSEYISM AT ENFIELD.—Puseyism observances have been introduced at Enfield Highway chapel of ease, by the Rev. T. Russell; but the inhabitants unanimously, in auditing the churchwardens' accounts at the vestry on the 22nd ult., refused to pay one item, for candlesticks and candles, £23 9s. 9d., which was introduced by the parties by the way of carrying out their forms.

OUR FUTURE LEGISLATORS AND CLERGY.—The following is the description of a scene that occurred at the Alma Mater last week:

OXFORD, WEDNESDAY NOON.—A riot has just occurred, which has occasioned the abrupt termination of the commemorative festival, without the oration of the

professor of poetry, or the prize essays and poems of the year being delivered. The proceedings were first interrupted by a body of tractarian regent masters, who had filled the area of the Sheldonian theatre, and resisted with loud *non placets* the degree of the American ambassador, which was, however, after some confusion, conferred, with a protest on the part of the tractarians, and amidst loud shouts from the under-graduates, who imitated the parties below by a successful attempt to terminate the proceedings, unless the junior proctor, who has rendered himself unpopular by his procuratorial efforts, would quit the room. The vice chancellor has, in consequence of this outrage, just dissolved the assembly. It is said that the ladies present had threatened to retire, unless the malcontents desisted from their attempts; and it is a matter of regret that this expedient of appealing to the gallantry of the youths was not tried. The whole scene was anything but calculated to give a visitor a favourable impression of the liberality of parties here. The opposition to the American ambassador's degree is stated to be attributable to a rumour that he had, in early life, been an independent teacher.

THE CONSECRATED CANDLESTICKS.—It will be recollect that a short time since a pair of handsome gilt candlesticks were presented to Shoreditch parish church by some considerate friend, and were placed upon the altar. Much opposition was excited at the time, and on Wednesday evening a meeting was held to audit the churchwardens' accounts, when this sacred present was found lying on the floor of the altar, the wax taper which was in it being completely broken to pieces, and the stand considerably injured. The Rev. Mr Wix, the vicar, has been informed of the occurrence, and it is supposed that some inquiry will be made into the affair.

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS.—The times seem unfavourable to established churches. The church of Scotland has pulled itself down. Looking to Oxford, the church of England seems inclined to follow its example; and the days of the Irish church are numbered. The friends of establishments are, however, not without consolation, for whatever may be the fate of established churches on the eastern side of the Atlantic, their revenues are to be enlarged in the western hemisphere, and the committee appointed to act in concert with her Majesty's government, for the erection and endowment of additional bishoprics in the colonies, have determined to appropriate a large portion of the fund at their disposal, namely, the sum of £20,000, towards the endowment of a bishopric in New Brunswick.—*Leeds Mercury*.

FACTORIES BILL.

On Wednesday evening, a very large number of the members of the Sunday School union, teachers resident in the borough of the Tower Hamlets, took tea at the Eastern institution, Commercial road east, for the purpose of celebrating the defeat of the most obnoxious clauses in the above bill, and likewise to take into consideration the merits of the bill as now recommitted in the House of Commons. W. Rutt, Esq., in the absence of Colonel Fox, M.P., took the chair, when the Secretary to the East London committee read the report of that society, which congratulated the members on the success which their exertions had gained. The Rev. C. Stovel then proposed a resolution, that the report be received and adopted, and that the meeting had learned with deep regret that the Factories bill, as prepared and recommitted in the House of Commons, was not freed from the educational clauses according to the declaration of Sir James Graham, but that it still contained many clauses to enforce education, which were an invasion of public liberty and an insult to the people of England. The rev. gentleman proceeded to detail some of the still objectionable clauses of the bill. Mr W. Griffin seconded the resolution and observed that Sir James was practising a feint on the dissenters in order to lull the agitation against the bill. A discussion here ensued, which occupied the greater portion of the evening, as to whether or not Sir James Graham deserved to be severely censured for his conduct with reference to the remaining clauses of the bill, which it was stated were but a digest of the present law on the subject. Ultimately the resolution was all but unanimously agreed to. A resolution declaratory of the propriety of forming a provisional committee to prepare some plan to unite the friends of civil and religious liberty in that district into an association for the protection of both was then agreed to.

A meeting, called by the Young Men's committee, was held on Friday evening, at Jewin street chapel, Aldersgate street. The meeting was principally of a devotional character, to offer thanksgiving to God for averting the threatened danger. The Rev. Messrs J. Carlile, W. Foster, Messrs Simpson (of Newport Pagnell college), J. Dunlop, and G. Simmons, took part in the proceedings. At the close of the meeting a resolution was passed condemnatory of the conduct of Sir James Graham in again introducing educational clauses into the Factories bill.

MANCHESTER.—MEETING IN THE FREE TRADE HALL.—On Wednesday evening a tea party of the friends of education and religious liberty was held at the Free Trade hall, at seven o'clock, to receive a report of the proceedings from the committee appointed to oppose Sir James Graham's bill, and to take counsel on the best means of providing and securing an enlightened, voluntary, and equitable system of instruction for the people. The Rev. Dr Vaughan, Rev. T. Raffles, D.D., Revs W. M'Kerrow, H. Breedon, J. W. Massie, J. Davis, W. Gadsby, Mr Thompson, D. Griffiths, J. Grave, Esq., George Hadfield, Esq., J. Hulme, Esq., W. Morris, Esq., John Hewett, Esq., and John Brooks, Esq., were amongst the company on the platform. The tickets of admission having been fixed at a high price, with the view of raising a sum of money wherewith to meet the balance of expenses incurred by the committee in opposing the bill, the audience was not

numerous, though highly respectable. About five hundred sat down to tea, and about five hundred were afterwards admitted. Mr Alderman Brooks was called to the chair; and the Rev. J. W. Massie thus referred to the object of their meeting:—

Sir James Graham having declared his intention to withdraw the educational clauses of the Factory bill, it had been considered—by some it will be thought, perhaps, too hastily—that it was unnecessary to continue the opposition against the remainder of the bill; and we projected this meeting, merely, that we might clear off old scores, and begin a new agitation. The agitation we contemplated was among ourselves. We proposed that the people should be instructed and appealed to on the value of an education given on a principle least likely to excite sectarian hostility; and, having established that principle, not by act of parliament or royal ordinances, but by the diffusion of truth, that we should have local schools connected with the different chapels and religious communities in those districts, and supported by those communities.

Mr W. Shuttleworth proposed, and Dr Vaughan seconded, the first resolution. Dr V., in referring to the question of national education, said—

If we want canals we do not go to the government for the means of making them, but we set about making them ourselves [hear, hear]. If we want railways we don't go to the state to make them for us, we set about making them ourselves [hear, hear]. If we have great commercial enterprises to embark in, we embark in them with our own property and under the influence of our own knowledge as to the manner in which they may be done. Everything among us is made to take this form upon the principle of self-government [applause]. Day by day the people are learning to govern themselves more, and are looking to the head of government less [renewed applause]; and this is the very thing that we want. I should like to see that circle narrowed and narrowed until we shall stand forth, not as a nation of children dependent on the few above them, but a nation of men who know how to regulate their own matters [great applause]. Oh, it would be far better, sir, that this should be the form in which our education should proceed [hear, hear]. Why if I could create a system of education to-morrow that I could cause to work with all the nicety of a steam power, that should come with the delicacy of a hair's breadth in its pressure here, or with any required extent of power yonder—if I could make it work in that way so that the results should be perfect as far as they can be accomplished—I would rend that machine to pieces, I would give it to the winds, compared with the feeling I should have of interest in anything like the same education realised by society as the effect of a spontaneous estimate in that society of the value of education, and the existence of power in that estimate, and the moral feeling requisite to work the machine and to realise it thus.

The Rev. W. M'Kerrow, in a long and animated speech, proposed—

"That from the inquiries and statistical returns made on the state of education in the factory districts, it appears most conclusively to this meeting that were the people free to labour and obtain a fair equivalent for their work, they would not only be able, but also inclined, to provide education for their children in a far more efficient and becoming manner than can be secured by any compulsory system."

We have only room for one extract from his address.

Why then should we not at all times recognise the great principles of mental, and moral, and religious freedom? Why should we be zealous for the honour of this principle only when some further attempt is made upon our liberties? Why should we not at all times proclaim it, and endeavour to extend the knowledge and influence of it in society, with a view to the overthrow of that ecclesiastical system of domination and monopoly which has so long oppressed the land [great applause]. Why, my friends, it occurs to me, at least, that it becomes us to do our utmost, not simply to prevent an additional link to the chain which we have so long worn, but to break and fling from around us those fetters with which we have hitherto been bound. It is not enough for me to be instrumental, in conjunction with my friends present, to "smash," as Dr Halley called it, the Factory bill, for I seek something far more important than this. I aim to accomplish that separation of the church from the state [long and continued applause]—that separation [renewed applause] of the church from the state which will terminate the struggles of a particular party—those everlasting struggles they are making for ascendancy—which will place all parties upon the same civil equality, and leave truth to make its way in the world by its native power, and by the blessing of Him from whom it has proceeded [great applause]. The voluntary principle, I maintain, is the only equitable and efficient principle. We have been taunted with the inability of the voluntary principle to overtake the necessities of the country; but we can fling back the taunt to those from whom it came, and ask what can the established principle do, and what has it done? It has scattered places of worship over the face of the country, but has it disseminated virtue, and knowledge, and religion [hear, hear]? The only good it has achieved has been by the operation not of the established principle, but by the voluntary principle in connexion with the establishment—that principle which has existed and worked in spite of the establishment [great applause].

Mr J. Hewitt, in a brief speech, urging the necessity of increased exertion in the cause of education, seconded the resolution. The Rev. J. Davies moved, and the Rev. H. Griffiths seconded a resolution, stating that it became "the friends of freedom and the patrons of education to make such efforts as each separate locality may require, and so as to secure the co-operation of the parents and friends of youth." George Hadfield, Esq., proposed the fourth resolution:—

"That the services of the periodical press are of inestimable value in the discussion of great principles, and in the defence and extension of popular liberty; that on this occasion we have to acknowledge the cordial, vigorous, and consistent co-operation of the proprietors of the *Manchester Times*, whose paper has been the only local periodical which has on this occasion sympathised with the people, whereby they have merited the claims to the support and confidence of all friends of civil and religious liberty; we also express our acknowledgments especially to the editors of the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Patriot*, *Nonconformist*, *Globe*, and *Morning Advertiser*, and earnestly commend to their continued guardianship the interests of education and liberty."

He, Mr Hadfield, expressed a strong and decided approbation of the conduct of the *Manchester Times* at the present crisis, and on all great occasions of importance to public rights and liberty; and a different feeling with respect to the *Manchester Guardian*,

which he conceived did not represent the opinions of dissenters or heartily support the popular cause. The Rev. C. Baker seconded the resolution in a few words, on the conclusion of which there was a call for Mr Prentice, of the *Manchester Times*, who briefly acknowledged the compliment paid by the meeting to the proprietors of that journal. The fifth resolution was moved by the Rev. J. Davis, and seconded by the Rev. C. Thompson. It was in these terms:—

"That this meeting cannot separate without recording its deep sense of obligation to the Rev. J. W. Massie for the indefatigable, disinterested, and invaluable services which he has rendered as secretary to the Manchester committee for opposing the now withdrawn educational clauses of the Factory bill." Thanks having been proposed to the chairman for his services on this and other similar occasions, to which Mr Brooks responded, the meeting broke up.

FROME.—The friends of civil and religious freedom met on Tuesday evening last, in Zion chapel, Frome, to unite in congratulation for the abandonment of the educational clauses of the Factory bill. The meeting was numerously attended, and of the most enthusiastic character. As an appropriate monument to commemorate the victory which has been achieved by dissenters, and as a practical proof, that in this town, at least, they are not opposed to the education of the poor, the large assembly unanimously pledged themselves to erect a British school. A liberal subscription was immediately set on foot, and there is now the pleasing prospect that very shortly a school will be established for giving children a religious and useful education, apart from all sectarian views.—*Wilts Independent.*

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

MEETING AT EXETER HALL.

A numerous and influential meeting of the friends of the free church of Scotland was held on Wednesday at Exeter hall, for the purpose of receiving a deputation of ministers and elders, and to adopt measures for aiding that church in its efforts to diffuse the gospel in Scotland. The Marquis of BREDALBANE presided. Upon the platform were Mr Patrick Maxwell Stuart, M.P.; Mr Fox Maule, M.P.; the Rev. Mr Guthrie, the Rev. W. Cunningham, the Rev. H. Grey, the Rev. Mr Archer, the Rev. Mr Mortimer, the Rev. Mr Sherman, Mr Campbell of Monzie, &c., &c. After prayer,

The noble CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings. He said—The event which has called us together is one of the most important which has occurred in the presbyterian church since the reformation. The voluntary secession of five hundred of the most pious, intelligent, and zealous of its ministers, with nearly a million of their congregations, is an occurrence calculated to solemnise our thoughts, and excite the sympathies of all thinking Christian men [hear]. You are aware that the church of Scotland has been for some years back contending for the attainment of two great cardinal principles. It commenced, first, by endeavouring to secure for its congregations certain rights and privileges which it maintained belonged to them by the constitutions and principles on which the church was founded [cheers]. The first great fundamental principle was, that no minister should be intruded upon a congregation contrary to the will of the people [hear, hear]. In the church's endeavour to attain this object, an unfortunate collision took place between the civil and the ecclesiastical courts in Scotland, regarding another great presbyterian principle of church government—its spiritual independence [loud cheers]. It recognises no rule in the conduct of its spiritual affairs, save that of the Bible, and it looks to no other head than that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This great principle was violated by the act of the civil court in Scotland—that act was sanctioned by the courts here, and by the government and legislature of the country—most unwise, I think—most unjustly, and I will not scruple to say, most unconstitutionally [cheers]. But fortunately for the church, fortunately for the great interests of religion itself, and fortunately for the rights and privileges of the presbyterian people, the great body of the ministers, true to these great principles, and determined to support them, be the consequences what they might, have voluntarily sacrificed every benefit that was ensured to them by the state, and have left the church; but have left it with their principles unimpaired, although divested of every worldly benefit which they possessed [hear]. It is to support these men in this, the hour of their trial, to call forth your Christian sympathy in aid of that church, and in aid of the presbyterian people of Scotland, that we have met here this day; and we must illustrate our sympathy, not only by our expressions, but by our acts [loud cheers].

The Rev. HENRY GREY then addressed the meeting at great length. He went a good deal into the early history of the Scottish church, a subject which has but little interest for an English reader. Of the law of patronage he said—

When, by the corruption of the principles on which the church was founded, that false Romish thing, lay patronage, became first known to the church; it was effected by what was with propriety called a forcible settlement, accompanied by an armed force—a scene revived in the Strathbogie district not long ago, where cavalry, ready equipped, guarded the valley, and escorted the ministers who came to make ordination. The mal-administration of patronage had caused all the disorders, sins, and miseries of the people in Scotland, in connexion with the church. A minister, to be efficient, must possess the affections of the Christian people, and the best means to secure their co-operation in the good work was to give them a voice, negative or affirmative, in his appointment. No form of appointment was so bad as that of mere nomination by an irresponsible patron. Then all manner of unchristian and pernicious principles intervened; men did not consult their call and qualifications to the ministry, but whether or not they could find a patron [hear].

The church of Scotland had laws for her internal government guaranteed to her by the state; that her constitution was of older standing than her connexion with the British parliament; and that no act of parliament could make a wrong thing right.

Some men might have talents for everybody's business, but

they were not on that account called to do it for them. Though Lord Lyndhurst were ever so pious, and Lord Brougham ever so holy—though Lord Cottenham might be ever so conscientious; and Lord Campbell ever so prayerful and devout—yet even these qualities did not require them, or entitle them, to do the work of the presbyteries [hear, hear]. Would not every man say in the present case that, learned, sagacious, and full of erudition as they might be, they were meddling with other men's business, and giving them help when it was not required. Mr Grey concluded by saying that the old churches still stood, but tent and field congregations were everywhere formed. Enriched with benefits and blessings more than ever, they had cause to prefer their present life to any they had lived before. Their answer would be that of the disciples sent out without scrip, or purse, or shoes, who were asked, "Lack ye anything?" with whom they would reply, "We cannot but say, Nothing."

The Rev. DR CUNNINGHAM said, like his reverend brother who preceded him, he was one who a few weeks ago had been a minister of the established church of Scotland, but who, in common with nearly five hundred of his brethren, headed by the most distinguished ornament of the church, Dr Chalmers, had felt themselves constrained, for conscience' sake, to resign the status and emoluments of ministers of the establishment, though feeling more deeply than ever their obligations as ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to cast themselves on the bounty of Providence, and the kindness and liberality of the Christian people. They left the establishment, for they believed that Christ was calling upon them to leave it. The question was, whether they were prepared to obey his call, and to take his word for their future prospects; and, thank God, they had decided in the affirmative, and they were now the free presbyterian church of Scotland, and possessed, as they believed, of the most important facilities and advantages for promoting the glorious gospel. The principles for which they were suffering were dear to the hearts of the Scottish people; they were those for which their forefathers had suffered and died. In conclusion, he would say that the substance of the whole matter—of their recent proceedings and of their present position—was this, that by the good hand of God the established church of Scotland, through the ascendancy of evangelical principles, had come to feel and believe that it was the church of Christ, and resolved to act in that character to support which it was established; that by doing so firmly and honestly they called forth the enmity of a non-religious and ungodly world, and just because of their steadfastness to Christ they had been deprived of the privileges and emoluments of an establishment [hear, hear]. Believing that, knowing this, they would do more than ever to aid them in their endeavours, he would now leave the case of the free church in their hands [loud cheers].

The Rev. Mr BEECHAM (one of the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary society) proposed the first resolution, to the effect—

"That in the free church of Scotland, including as it did such a number of able, accomplished, and devout ministers, and carrying with it the affections of so large a body of the people of Scotland, this meeting recognised a most powerful instrument for the evangelising of Scotland, and trusted that by the endeavours and the co-operation of friendly churches, Scotland might regain that religious eminence which she had so long possessed."

The reading of the resolution was received with applause.

Mr FOX MAULE: He could not allow the present opportunity to pass, without—as a Scotchman deeply interested in the events which had lately taken place in his country—bearing the testimony of his gratitude to those evangelical dissenters who had come forward so nobly, and so cordially, to testify their sympathy with the ministry and with the people, who had just given up great benefits and great conveniences for conscience' sake [cheers]. The resolution pointed to the advantages to the great cause of evangelism which the free church could produce by its efforts in Scotland. That country was now divided into two great parties. It was divided into that party which upheld and maintained the principles of true and vital evangelical religion, and that party which still retained its connexion with state benefits, and also with the coldness and frigidity of Erastian moderation [hear]. The majority of the people had pinned their faith to the principles of their ancestors; the minority remained in that cold, lifeless position in which they perhaps were destined to continue, unless the people of England and Ireland should step forward and aid the free church in the great work of restoring them to evangelical purity [hear, hear].

The Rev. J. SHERMAN (of Surrey chapel) moved the second resolution, to the effect, that this meeting, deeply sympathising in the privations to which so many ministers and congregations had recently been subjected, and regarding with admiration the efforts which the people of Scotland had made to secure a continuance of the ministrations by which they had profited, resolve to aid them to the utmost in their laudable exertions.

The Rev. Mr ARCHER seconded the resolution in an eloquent speech, advising moderation in talking of the present establishment, and expressing his opinion that it was fitter that they should pray for, than speak harshly of, it.

The Rev. H. MORTIMER spoke in favour of the resolution. Although himself an episcopalian, he approved of and sympathised with the late efforts of the non-intrusionists in the Scottish establishment, and to the free church he wished all prosperity. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

ISAAC TAYLOR, Esq., proposed the third resolution, appointing a committee for the purpose of receiving subscriptions, and generally assisting the objects of the free church in providing suitable accommodation for the ministers and congregations. Mr CAMPBELL, M.P., of Monzie, seconded the resolution.

The Rev. Mr GUTHRIE then addressed the meeting. He began by alluding to the cordiality with which the protesting clergymen and congregations had been received by the dissenters; all past disputes having been buried in oblivion, and a friendly communion established between the two bodies. He (Mr G.) had lost his all in a noble cause, and if he

THE NONCONFORMIST.

had that all to give again, ten times over, he would cheerfully bestow it [cheers]. But he never would have crossed the English border had he come to beg for himself. He might live as comfortably as most members of the free church; but he might venture to say, that he lived as plainly as any of them, and it would be a hard day and a black day for him, before he would kneel to ask anything from those who had called them mendicants [loud cheers]. In connexion with the recent secession, he related the following anecdote:—

"Some time since a gentleman from London was on the Sabbath in a very populous village in Scotland. He heard the bell ring, and proceeded to the church. On his arrival there, he saw a man dressed in black in the pulpit, engaged speaking desperately loud, and most vehemently demonstrating [a laugh]. The stranger looked above and below, to the right and to the left, but not one was visible [laughter]. He looked again, saw no one, he was convinced he heard the voice of the man in the pulpit, but thinking he was an evil spirit, at last he ran away altogether out of the church" [laughter].

He left the case in their hands, and he felt assured, on the part of his brethren and himself, that this would not be a fruitless journey to London. The resolution before the meeting was then carried.

Mr P. MAXWELL STEWART then proposed a vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, for his conduct towards the free church, and the Marquis of Brealdane having acknowledged the honour, the meeting separated.

On Friday evening a very numerous meeting of the friends of the free church of Scotland was held at the Union chapel, Islington, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from Scotland, appointed by the General Assembly. The Rev. Thomas Lewis took the chair, supported by the Rev. Henry Grey, Rev. Dr Cunningham, Rev. Thomas Guthrie, Rev. J. Hamilton, and several of the evangelical clergy of Islington. The Rev. Dr Cunningham addressed the meeting in an eloquent and forcible speech, explanatory of the reasons which had induced himself and upwards of 480 ministers of the church of Scotland to secede. The reverend gentleman stated that their great object now was to endeavour to provide accommodation for their scattered congregations, and for those ministers of independent and disinterested principle, who had recently made such a noble sacrifice of worldly patronage and possession, and many of whom were now preaching on the moors and mountain sides of their native land, rather than submit to a compromise of their principles. The Rev. J. Guthrie, the Rev. H. Grey, and other ministers addressed the meeting, and dwelt upon the great duty which now more than ever devolved upon them in the evangelisation of the people of Scotland. Resolutions, declaratory of a desire, on the part of the deputation, cordially to co-operate with evangelical dissenters, and descriptive of their future operations, having been proposed, spoken to, and passed by acclamation, the meeting separated soon after ten.

EAST OF LONDON.—A public meeting was held on Thursday evening last, at Wycliffe chapel, to receive the Scottish deputation. The Rev. Dr Reed was called to the chair, and the proceedings of the evening, kept up to a late hour, were of the most interesting character. A sum, exceeding one hundred guineas, was raised at the close of the meeting for the funds of the free church.

General News.**FOREIGN.****AMERICA.**

The British and North American mail steamer Acadia arrived at Liverpool on Wednesday night. She has made the run across the Atlantic in ten days, and the passage from Boston she has performed in eleven days twenty-three hours, including seven hours' detention in Halifax.

The repeal of the union was agitated with as much fervour in the United States as in Ireland. Meetings were held in all parts of the Union, and the excitement on the subject amongst the Irish population appeared to be extreme. A regular Repeal association is established at New York, which holds weekly meetings, at which vast multitudes attend, and at which contributions in aid of the designs of O'Connell are received. At one of these meetings, held on the 6th ult., a thousand dollars were contributed. It is said the Acadia has brought over 5000 dollars for the repeal rent, and with prospect of further pecuniary aid. On the 14th, a great meeting was held in New York, at which several members of congress, who are regularly enrolled members of the society, were present. A long string of resolutions was passed, recording the determination of those present to aid the movement in favour of repeal by every means in their power. The *New York Herald* states that there is a perfect enthusiasm in favour of the party amongst all classes. Men occupying the highest political and local position are already enrolled in the movement, including the son of the President, members of congress, ex-members of congress, and state and municipal officers of every grade. The correspondent of the *Chronicle* says, "The sums that will be sent over to Ireland in aid of a repeal of the union, are much larger than had been anticipated a few days since. The amount that will go by tomorrow's steamer will probably be 1,000/- or 1,200/-."

The British consul at New York, Mr Barclay, was an attentive spectator of the meeting on the 14th; and it was supposed he would report to the government at home.

Troops had been sent from Montreal to the Beauharnois canal, where the workmen were rioting and demanding an increase of wages. Several stores had been broken open and pillaged, and the workmen were parading the town and its vicinity, armed and in great numbers.

A second engagement had taken place between

Commodore Moore and the Mexican fleet. The Mexican government had freighted a vessel at Vera Cruz to take to Campeachy the reply of Santa Anna to the conditions of the Campeachanos, which were sent to him by Ampudia for his approval. The nature of the reply was not known.

The following is an extract relating to the Oregon territory:—

As for the Oregon territory, an expedition of 500 persons has just left Jackson, Missouri, to form a settlement, and I observe by the western papers, that the Oregon committee of Ohio have convened a convention for the 4th of July, to be held in Cincinnati, "to urge upon Congress the immediate occupation of Oregon by the arms and laws of the republic—and to promote its immediate and effectual occupation, whether the government acts or not in this matter." Monroe's declaration of 1823 is quoted, to show "that the American continents were not to be considered subjects of colonisation by any European power." This sentiment is said to be advocated "by the laws of nature, of nations, and of necessity." I once more repeat, that everything connected with the Oregon is ominous—ominous of war! The broad view of many American politicians is, that the whole of the new world should be republican, as you will perceive by the above quotations. But at any rate, the sooner the Oregon question is settled, the better for the peace of the world. Any war between any European nation and this country, might soon become a war between the two governmental principles of republicanism and monarchy.

SPAIN.

Every fresh account from Spain brings intelligence of the rapid progress of the insurrection. Corunna had its *pronunciamiento* against the Regent on the 18th; Seville, on the 19th; Burgos, on the 25th; and Santiago, Lugo, Orense, Vigo, Betanzos, Cadiz, and other places, had declared themselves. An attempt at Pamplona had been abortive; and the Basque provinces remained quiet. General Van Halen had assumed the command of the troops against Granada, and had commenced the attack on the 16th. Meanwhile the governor of the fort of Montjuich, who had refused an offer of 50,000 piastres to surrender the fort, apprised the Junta that he would set fire to Barcelona if Zurbano were molested. This menace caused the utmost alarm in the city; and a committee was sent to Montjuich, composed of the French and English consuls and other dignitaries of the city, to induce him to suspend his threat. He agreed; influenced, it is said, by the fear of the retribution which Prim might inflict on Zurbano; while Prim was tied by the position of Barcelona under the guns of Montjuich. At the threat of bombarding their city, the Barcelonese deserted it, and remained outside the walls. A large number of persons, especially among the wealthy, had left, and were daily leaving, the country.

In Catalonia affairs appear to be drawing to a crisis. Generals Zurbano and Seoane are in the field on the side of the Regent, and Colonel Prim commands a large opposing force. The two former generals have been striving to effect a junction of forces. Zurbano, who had advanced as far as Igualada was obliged to retreat to Cervera, in consequence of being nearly hemmed in by Prim and other forces under the insurrectionary party. The communication with Lerida had been cut off, but he succeeded in reaching Cervera without opposition, the national guards not being in sufficient force to oppose his retreat. Seoane appears to have been in no better position. Later accounts, however, bring intelligence of the junction of these two armies at Lerida, which was occupied by Zurbano.

Espartero continued to advance towards Valencia with the utmost possible expedition, the troops marching twenty-six miles per day, and had already reached Albacete, half way between that city and Madrid. He had only 6000 men with him, but it was said that he expected to be joined by the garrison of Valencia on arriving there. In all the villages through which he passed he received unequivocal proofs of the respect of the inhabitants, and of their enthusiasm in his cause. It was known by travelers who arrived from Valencia and Albacete that the insurrectionary junta still continued to govern in the former city, but that the troops, on hearing of the Regent's approach, were returning to their allegiance, and were leaving the city in considerable numbers (particularly the cavalry) to meet the Regent. A committee, composed of the provincial deputation, the national guard, and private individuals, had waited on the Captain-general of the province of Valencia, and promised the unconditional submission of the entire province to the Regent. At Albacete he was joined by a battalion of the regiment of Navarre, which had declared for the movement at Valencia, but who returned to their allegiance on being apprised of the Regent's approach. This battalion consisted of 600 men. It was not expected that Valencia would make any serious opposition to the Regent. "It is at Valencia," says the *Journal des Debats*, "that the question must be decided, in the first instance, as to whether there is to be a civil war, and whether the troops will fight one against the other. This decisive question has not yet been determined."

The Paris papers of Saturday night contain the following additional intelligence by telegraphic despatch:—

"Perpignan, July 1.

"General Ramon Narvaez had arrived at Valencia on the 27th. The Junta of Valencia had accepted the services of Generals Narvaez and Concha, and the Brigadier Pezuela. General Narvaez had been appointed captain-general of Valencia and Murcia. General Concha had been appointed second in command; Brigadier Pezuela, chief of the staff; and Brigadier Sebely, commander of the cavalry.

"General Narvaez had been since the 29th organising his troops to march against the Regent, who was at Chinchilla. Several corps, formed of troops of the line and of the national guard, had left the city in different directions.

"Zurbano's division occupied Lerida and the environs. General Seoane had formed a junction with General Zurbano."

These despatches (says the *Times*) fully bear out the assurances we received and published from time to time, that Christino officers, long resident in the French capital, had left that city to enter Spain to aid in an insurrection against the Spanish government. We named, among others, the identical

Generals Ramon, Narvaez, and Pezuela, who we now find at the head of the rebels in Valencia. Zurbano, it appears, has escaped from the "inextricable" difficulties in which the news published in Paris had placed him. He has effected his junction with Seoane, and will probably remain in observation in Lerida (the key of Catalonia, on the side of Aragon) until the Regent shall, if his aid become necessary, summon him to Valencia, or having reduced the latter city, shall have joined him with a view to make a combined movement on Barcelona.

Meanwhile, the provincial towns continued their *pronunciamientos*. The garrisons of Vittoria, Esletta, and Guetaria, and the inhabitants of Lucena, Palencia, Tortosa, Cuenca, Valladolid, and other places, had also "pronounced." Madrid and Saragossa still remained firm. The deputies of opposition and of the majority have everywhere taken the field against the Regent, and thus have abandoned the constitutional question altogether.

INDIA.

The approach of the monsoon having caused the departure of the Bombay mail ten days sooner than usual, the packet arrived on Monday, with news from India to the 20th May, and from China to the 28th March.

The chief points of interest are connected with the proceedings of Sir Charles Napier in Scinde. It appears that Shere Mohammed, who was defeated at the battle of Fullalie on the 24th of March, had got over the river and incited some of the mountaineers of the Beloochee tribes to join his standard, and approach to the banks of the Indus to within five or six miles of Hyderabad. Another chief, Ali Mourad, who had joined the British, was no longer to be depended on. Sir Charles Napier had given notice to the former to give up his useless resistance, or he would proceed to rout him. The 15th of May was publicly mentioned as the date of the expected battle. Her Majesty's 28th regiment had left Kurrachee early in May, and were expected to reach Hyderabad before the 15th. The great portion of the other troops were concentrated around Hyderabad, with the exception of one native regiment, which was stationed on the right bank. The season of the periodical rise in the Indus had begun, and it was much doubted if any continued operations could be carried on for some time, as the country is intersected with overflowing canals.

The Bombay government was most active in sending reinforcements to strengthen Sir Charles Napier's position.

The Amirs (with the exception of Daoud Shah, who is said to be implicated in the murder of Captain Ennis) are about to be sent to Sassoor, a fort between Poona and Sattarah. The chief in question has been consigned to Surat castle.

The Maharajah of Lahore has suffered from a paralytic stroke, which may possibly prove fatal.

The state of the Punjab was beginning to attract attention. Shere Singh, the third in succession to the notorious Runjeet Singh, who died about three years ago, had had a stroke of the palsy, and the sovereignty of his family was looked upon as likely to terminate with his life, as the British would have to interfere to keep down the rebellious portions of his kingdom. In Candahar there was, according to report, a new ruler in a Persian chief; the Kuzzibashies were also said to be all-powerful in Cabul. Akhbar Khan was at Jellalabad, endeavouring to make arrangements with the Khyberrees for the passage of his father through their defiles from Peshawur. The Khyber disturbance was completely settled. The disturbances in Bundekund have been nearly put down, notwithstanding the difficulties that attend mountain warfare. Lord Ellenborough, who is at Agra, will be enabled by other arrangements to bring about its complete pacification.

We extract from the papers a few details of minor interest:—

DREADFUL LOSS OF LIFE BY CHOLERA.—The following extract of a letter from an officer of her Majesty's 63rd foot:—"Never did I write to you under feelings of more deep distress than at the present moment. Words cannot describe the heart-rending scenes that we have lately witnessed. A captain, an ensign, and upwards of 100 men, women, and children of our head-quarter wing have been carried off by cholera within the last few days, and, as we have upwards of 60 more cases in hospital, our casualties, probably will hardly be under 130 ere this dreadful scourge ceases. The disease has, though, happily assumed a milder form since the arrival of the wing on the 10th instant, and it is to be hoped that it is now gradually abating. I never during my long experience saw this epidemic rage so fiercely, breaking up all ties, and causing the most depressing despondency, which, in fact, alone often produces a tendency to the disease. The best of our men have died; 19 in one day fell victims to this awful scourge, and upwards of 200 camp followers have been carried off by it. Poor Mrs Carew, wife of Captain Carew, was seized, and died almost before she appeared seriously affected. Altogether it has been a fearful scene."

The head-quarter authorities are much to blame for ordering the march of Europeans at this season, when it can possibly be avoided, and our move was quite unnecessary; it all having arisen from the foolish pride that led them to send on the wing of the King's Own to Kampet, though all the time knowing to a certainty that they must have to return. 'Shame, shame, on such doings,' say I, 'shame on those who thus expose valuable lives without the smallest occasion for it!'

THE NAVIGATION OF THE INDUS.—The Indus is open, and its navigation free to all nations. There are now moving on its waters no less than six steamers of different sizes, at the present moment required for the military operations necessary for the entire pacification of the country, but at no remote period available for the transport of those articles of commerce which will doubtless be in demand along its shores and beyond the limits of our present empire. The ardent desire expressed, if not felt, by our present Governor-general, to secure for these steamers a constant supply of fuel, led to his

demanding at the hands of the Amirs of Scinde the cession of a portion of those preserves on which they set such high value, and for the preservation of which at last risked life, empire, and liberty. The Shikargars became ours by right of conquest, and the woodman's axe is doubtless already busy in felling the trees which are to set in motion the wonderful machines by which the trade on the Indus must, in a comparatively short time, be inconceivably increased, providing the merchants of Bombay are not backward in availing themselves of the advantages now opened to them.—*Delhi Gazette*.

The Somnauth gates have turned out to be made of pine, and not of sandal-wood.

CHINA.

From China we have little news of importance. Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm had arrived with her Majesty's ratification of the treaty; but ratifications could not be exchanged until Eleepoo's successor reached Canton, which it was hardly expected he would do in less than two months.

It was said Sir H. Pottinger was about to publish the result of his negotiations. The new tariff had been inspected by the principal merchants, and approved of. The plenipotentiary had abandoned the idea of proceeding to the northward; and it was reported that he had again urgently requested permission to retire. Colonel Malcolm was about to start again for England, to arrange some details which required a reference to the home authorities.

The feeling of enmity against the English, so long prevalent at Canton, appeared gradually subsiding.

The opium trade continued to flourish, and some clippers had even proceeded with their cargoes to the northward of Chusan. A correspondent of the *Chronicle* says—

"From Chusan no intelligence of importance had been received. One or two opium clippers had sailed thence to the northward—it was supposed to Woosung—in the hope of getting a better market for their cargo than was obtainable even at Chusan, where there was a brisk demand for it, and prices ruled high. Wherever opium has been imported, purchasers have been easily found; in fact, a national taste for it seems to prevail over the whole of China, and there can be no doubt that were its exportation from India at once prohibited, the inhabitants would find means of satisfying their wants from some other quarter. A crusade against its consumption, on the part of some celestial Father Mathew, might perhaps correct the depraved disposition which leads to an enjoyment so sensual; but so long as the Chinese desire their delicious drug, it may be depended upon they will succeed in procuring it."

EGYPT.

The intelligence from Alexandria is of considerable interest. The Pacha had publicly declared that from advancing years and suffering infirmities he found himself unequal to all the cares and necessary application incident to his government, and that his successor Ibrahim being an invalid, it is his intention to associate with himself his grandson as wakil, or assistant, with full powers to act on his behalf. This arrangement, though not looked upon as immediately mischievous, is pregnant with danger in the event of the Pacha's death, because there has existed between Ibrahim and Abbas a long cherished and deadly hatred, and both parties have numerous and powerful partisans.

The Pacha is now remitting to Constantinople his tribute, arranged by drafts on Trieste, for one million and a half of dollars, on the brother there of the minister here, to whom the Pacha, in reimbursement, consigns for sale on his own account, 300,000 of cotton, about 100,000 to be shipped as the balance of this crop, and 200,000 from the crop of this autumn (if so much escapes the locusts).

The Pacha's smaller ships of war and transports are to be employed in the conveyance to Trieste of this cotton, which is another blow to European commercial and shipping interests.

SERVIA.

The Servian people (says the *Chronicle*) met on the 17th on the plain of Topiwu. There was no election, because it was feared that the presence of Wueshtish and Petroniewitsch would invalidate it in the eyes of Russia. But every voice was for Prince Alexander Georgewitsch. It was arranged that the election should take place on the 3rd of July; the Prince Alexander should go to the convent of Ragowitz, his ministers to Kregugewatch, and there await the now certain result.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The *Universal Gazette* of Cassel says that Hanover has concluded with Great Britain a treaty of commerce, by which the latter country can import into Hanover, paying merely the ordinary duty, all English products, salt excepted. The duties in Hanover not to be raised, England granting Hanover free importation of gold and silver in bars, importation of corn under certain restrictions, and of Hanoverian products.

CURIOS DISCOVERY.—BRUGES, JUNE 28.—Nearly five hundred workmen are employed in digging the canal of Zelsaete. The work, therefore, proceeds pretty rapidly, and has already been commenced on a line of five thousand yards. These excavations have laid bare, on the whole extent of the work, and nearly on the same level, a bed of turf. Near the village of Oostkerke, for above two thousand yards below the bed of turf, there are the remains of a vast forest of oaks, firs, and other trees. In several places the trunks of the trees have disappeared; but in others they are found lying full well.

M. Botta, the French Consul at Mossoul, commenced, a year back, making excavations on the ground formerly covered by the city of Nineveh, which was situated on the Tigris, opposite the present town of Mossoul. The walls are still observable, as well as some huge piles of bricks, which served as founda-

tions of the palace of the kings of Assyria. In one of those piles he discovered the remains of a palace, the walls of which are covered with bas reliefs and inscriptions in cuneiform characters. This discovery is the more important, as no sculptured monument was hitherto possessed of the Assyrians. The French government has sent M. Botta a sum of money, to enable him to pursue his undertaking.—*Galignani*.

The Berlin *Gazette* publishes an ukase of the Emperor of Russia, dated the 2nd of May last, enjoining all the Israelites residing within 50 wersts of the frontiers of Prussia and Austria to retire into the interior of the empire. Those who owned houses or lands in the country were allowed two years to dispose of them, but they must begin by obeying the imperial order.

Letters from Copenhagen mention that several large warehouses have been destroyed by fire. The damage done is estimated at £30,000 to £40,000.

It is said that the fashion of sedan chairs is going to be revived in Paris, particularly in the Faubourg St. Germain. The other day the Duchess de Choiseul paid a visit to the Duchess de Fitzjames in an equipage of this description.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

THE MEMBERS FOR MARYLEBONE.—A numerous public meeting of electors of the borough of Marylebone took place on Wednesday at the Mechanics' institution, New Road, for the purpose of considering the conduct of their representatives on the ministerial grant to the Duke of Cambridge's daughter. Letters explaining the grounds of absence on the part of both members were read; after which Mr Savage proposed a resolution—

"That in the opinion of the meeting the two letters of explanation now read, from Sir B. Hall and Sir C. Napier, are very unsatisfactory, and that in consequence thereof a great public meeting of the borough be forthwith convened, to take into consideration the conduct of its representatives in parliament, and that a committee be appointed to carry the same into effect."

Mr Frampton seconded this resolution, which was carried.

THE MEMBERS FOR THE TOWER HAMLETS.—A numerously attended meeting of corn-law repealers and electors was held on Wednesday evening, at Bethnal green, for the purpose of passing a resolution in connexion with the course taken on the question in the house of Commons, by Sir William Clay and Colonel Fox. Mr Murray having drawn the attention of the meeting to the conduct of Sir W. Clay on the corn-law question, concluded by moving the following resolution :—

"That this meeting in tendering its thanks to Colonel Fox for his vote on Mr Villiers' motion for a total and immediate repeal of the corn laws, also reminds Sir W. Clay that at any future election for the Tower Hamlets the candidate's chance of success will mainly depend upon his votes upon this important question."

The motion was carried by an overwhelming majority, and amidst vehement cheering.

THE LATE DUKE OF SUSSEX.—A public meeting, attended by various noblemen and gentlemen, was held at Willis's rooms on Saturday, to adopt measures for securing by public subscription a suitable tribute of respect to record the love of learning and the amiable qualities of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. The Marquis of Northampton took the chair; and, after a complimentary speech, the Duke of Sutherland moved the first resolution. Among the other speakers were the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Earl of Roseben, the Bishop of Durham, Lord Arundel, Earl Fortescue, and the Bishop of Norwich. About 700l. was subscribed on the spot.

On Wednesday the Lord Mayor gave a very splendid entertainment to the judges and members of the bar. The guests were more numerous than upon any similar occasion, there being upwards of 150 individuals seated at the table in the Egyptian hall.

ORPHAN ASYLUM AT WANSTEAD.—The quiet little village of Wanstead, and the other hamlets in the immediate vicinity of the "sedgy Lea," were on Tuesday honoured by a visit from the King of the Belgians and several noble persons, for the purpose of opening the New Infant Orphan asylum. Prince Albert laid the foundation of the building two years ago. The charity supports one hundred and fifty children, but the number will be increased to two hundred in October. Prince Albert was expected up to the last moment, but it was officially announced that his Royal Highness was suffering under a severe attack of influenza, which entirely precluded him from honouring the assembly with his presence. The King officiated, was well received, and subscribed, as the Prince had done, a hundred guineas. The company partook of a cold collation, after which the children were introduced. The total of the day's subscriptions was £5,000.

WESTERN AFRICAN MISSION.—At the Court of Common Council on Thursday, Mr W. S. Hale presented a petition from the Rev. J. Clarke, missionary from Western Africa, in connexion with the Baptist Missionary society, for a contribution towards the expense of obtaining a vessel to be expressly appropriated to the Western African mission. The petition stated, that in 1840 the petitioner was sent by the Baptist Missionary society to Western Africa to commence a mission. He settled at Clarence, in Fernando Po, and was received by the native chiefs with great kindness, and entreated to send them teachers. The petition then went on to describe the exertions made to accomplish this object, and the extraordinary success which crowned those exertions. Thoroughly to carry out this scheme of Christian instruction and civilisation Mr Clarke believed that a

vessel appropriated to the mission was necessary. By introducing amongst the people religious teachers, skilful handcraftsmen and agriculturists, by carrying to them the knowledge and blessings of civilised life, by opening up communications between parts of the coast seldom or never visited for benevolent purposes, and thus encouraging native industry, he believed firmly that the vessel would promote commerce and civilisation, as well as the higher interests of the people. Such a vessel the committee of the society had resolved to build. She would be a small steamer, having the steam subordinate to the sailing power. Towards this vessel £600 had been contributed by Christians of all denominations. £1,500 was still needed, and for that sum the committee looked to the liberality of the supporters of Christian missions. The petitioner referred to some of the greatest supporters of charities in the kingdom. After a short discussion the petition was referred to the finance committee by a large majority.

THE CARTOONS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—On Friday these works of art were visited by the Queen, Prince Albert, and other members of the royal family, and various noblemen and gentlemen. The private view of the cartoons, sent in pursuant to the directions of the commissioners on the fine arts appointed by her Majesty the Queen, took place on Saturday in Westminster hall, and was during the day attended by a vast number of the nobility, artists, amateurs, and people of taste and distinction. The cartoons are 140 in number, and being all of very large dimensions, the walls and a large screen placed down the division of the hall are completely covered by them. The *Times* gives the following general view of their merits :—

"The general appearance of these pictures shows an advance in good drawing of outline, and a good knowledge of the principles of composition; many of them possess great merit, and prove that the fine arts in England, if they have not as yet advanced so rapidly as might be desired, have, at all events, within these few years, made considerable progress; and that in historical pictures, the artists of this country may be expected to compete successfully with the artists of any other modern school. What is chiefly wanting are vigour of expression and contrast of character. There is scarcely enough of originality, and rather more than enough of the imitation of the modern German school; nevertheless, there is considerable talent exhibited, and a promise of better things held out, which, with proper encouragement, will, no doubt, be hereafter performed."

Three of the cartoons have each gained a premium of 300. They are these :—

"No. 64, drawn by Edward Armitage, of No. 13, George street Delphi, and Prestbury mansion, Cheltenham, and representing Caesar's first invasion of Britain. This cartoon is very splendid the subject is treated after the manner of Le Brun, and reminds the spectator of some of the pictures of that artist in the Louvre.

"No. 84, by George Frederic Watts, of No. 41, Robert street, Hampstead road, representing Caractacus led in triumph through the streets of Rome. It is fine in the outline, and the story is well told. The artist is a young man of great promise, and one who is likely to rise very high in his profession.

"No. 103, "The First Trial by Jury," by Charles West Cope, of Hyde park gate, Kensington Gore. The subject of this cartoon is very happily chosen, an illustration of English history; it is original, both in its conception and treatment, and reflects great credit on the artist."

The gentleman who gained the first prize is, it is said, but 21 years of age, and has hitherto been of but little note among artists. It is also a singular fact that while several members of the Royal academy were among the competitors, not one gained a prize. The subjects were chosen from British history, and the works of Shakspere, Milton, and Spencer. Besides the three cartoons of £300 each, there are three of £200, and fifteen of £100, names and descriptions of which are given. It was arranged that the unsuccessful candidates should not be known, as their explanatory letters were returned unopened. The cartoons are executed in black and white chalk, but the fresco painting with which it is intended to adorn the new houses of parliament, and to which this trial is only preliminary, is much more difficult of execution. For the first fortnight, commencing with Monday last, a shilling will be demanded for admission; but afterwards the doors will be thrown open to the public without charge.

JUSTICE TO THE RICH AND THE POOR.—A gentleman was convicted at the Clerkenwell police office of wantonly breaking a lamp, assaulting an officer, and afterwards endeavouring to corrupt him by a bribe for escape. The magistrate, Mr Combe, put on a very severe face. He believed the prisoner was sober at the time he committed the offence, and the defence of his having been drinking from two o'clock in the day was very little to his credit. But the prisoner had greatly aggravated the case by, in the first instance, attempting to strike the police officer; and, in the second, preferring a charge of assault against him without the shadow of foundation. Persons in his station must be taught that they could not commit such offences with impunity, and the police must be protected from attempts to corrupt their honesty, as well as from attacks on their persons. The gentleman in black so far topped his part in sternness and severity, but now comes in the act belying the expressions :—He would fine the prisoner 18s. for breaking the lamp, and 2l. for the assault. The prisoner had offered the officer 5l. for escape, so that he saved precisely two guineas by the severity of justice; or, putting the thing in another form, he would have fined himself two guineas more than his stern judge fined him. Naturally he laughed at such punishment, and, paying the money, remarked, "Well, you have made me pay for what I have done, that's all." In reply to which taunt the magistrate said something about the disgrace; but really he is quite mistaken on that point, for in the cases in which gentlemen are concerned the greatest exposure is generally that of the magistrate. The very next case before the same magistrate was that of a cabman, who had taken 1s. 6d. more than his fare, and used abusive language, and the punishment was a month's imprisonment with hard labour in default of a fine of 2l. In this case the magistrate did not talk of rigour, but exercised it. The penalty was

perhaps a fit one, but compare with it the fine of 2*l.* 18*s.* on a man in better circumstances for an act of wanton mischief, followed up by an assault on an officer in the execution of his duty, and mark the difference between the law for the rich and the law for the poor!—*Examiner.*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.—On Saturday the annual distribution of prizes in the faculty of Arts and Laws took place in the theatre of the college, which displayed a numerous and brilliant assemblage of the subscribers and friends of this great seat of learning. The chair was taken by Mr William Dougal Christie, M.P., who briefly explained the object of the meeting. Professor Malden, Dean of Faculty, read the report, which gave an account of the proficiency attained by the pupils in literature, science, and other departments of study not within the range of an ordinary scholastic course of education. The number of students in the faculty of Arts and Laws is now 163, being a considerable increase upon that of the preceding year; and many of those who were last year in the junior classes had become competitors for the highest honours on the present occasion. The hon. chairman then proceeded to award the prizes to the successful competitors.

FATAL DUEL.—On Saturday, a duel was fought near Highgate between Lieutenant-colonel Fawcett and Lieutenant Munroe, his brother-in-law. The ball of the latter entered the right side of the former, passing through the right lung, and dropping down into the intestines. Sir B. Brodie and Dr Liston were sent for, but the ball could not be found, and the dangerous state of the patient would not allow of the wound being probed. In an interview with his wife, Colonel Fawcett distinctly stated that he himself had not fired, nor did he intend to do so, at Lieutenant Munroe, but that the choice of fire falling on the latter, he had scarcely taken his position before he was shot; and that all the other parties, whose names he refused to give, with the exception of Mr Gulliver, surgeon of the horse guards blue, ran away on the instant. Colonel Fawcett lingered until six o'clock on Monday morning, when he expired. The cause of the duel appears to have been a quarrel between Colonel Fawcett and Lieutenant Munroe, respecting the affairs of the former, which resulted in a challenge from the former. The Colonel had not fired when he received the shot of his adversary. On Monday evening an inquest was held by Mr Wakley on the body of the deceased; and, after a lengthened investigation, was adjourned till to-morrow. No less than fourteen coroners, from various parts of the country, who happen to be in London respecting the Coroners bill now before the House of Commons, were present to watch the proceedings. None of the parties concerned have yet been apprehended; but warrants have been issued for the arrest of Lieutenant Munroe and another gentleman, and Mr Gulliver has been held to bail. Colonel Fawcett was a remarkably fine man, in his fortieth year, and with a young family.

SUDDEN DEATH.—On Monday morning Colonel Ellison, of the first regiment of the grenadier guards, was reviewing the corps in Hyde park, and after having given the word of command, "shoulder" was about to say "arms," when his countenance was observed suddenly to change, and, before assistance could be rendered, he fell from his horse to the ground, speechless. No time was lost in procuring medical aid; it was, however, of no avail; life was extinct. His lady and two daughters were on the ground at the time of the melancholy occurrence. The deceased had enjoyed good health, but was of full habit of body; and the medical gentlemen who attended gave it as their opinion that he had been suddenly attacked with apoplexy. He had distinguished himself at the battle of Waterloo, and was about sixty years of age.

PROVINCIAL.

MR COBDEN AND THE KENTISH FARMERS.—Mr Cobden accepted an invitation to meet the farmers of Kent at Penenden Heath, on Thursday, when, according to the reports of the meeting which have appeared in the daily papers, a large number of these "sturdy yeomen" were present—many of whom were said to have been rendered "independent of their landlords anger by the present valueless state of their farms"—and the auditory consisted of nearly 3,000 persons. Mr Thomas White, a farmer, of Galding, having been called to the chair, introduced Mr Cobden to the meeting, who addressed the assemblage for upwards of an hour in his usual happy and forcible style of argument and illustration, and was loudly cheered. Captain Atcherly (a man of all work), and Mr Osborn, a farmer, addressed the meeting in opposition to Mr Cobden, and were followed by the Hon. C. P. Villiers, and Colonel Thompson, who were loudly applauded. Petitions to both houses of parliament in favour of a total and immediate repeal of the corn laws, were, on the motion of Mr Beacon, seconded by Mr George Swainson, almost unanimously adopted, there being only two dissentient voices in the meeting.

MR COBDEN AND THE SURREY FARMERS.—Mr Cobden and Mr R. R. Moore attended on Saturday, at Guilford, another of those agricultural meetings which are now being held throughout the country, for the purpose of diffusing information among the farmers on the corn laws. The meeting was held in the town hall and was well attended by a large number of the gentry of the neighbourhood. Mr R. D. Mangles, M.P., was called to the chair and the meeting then adjourned to the barrack field. Messrs Cobden and Moore spoke with their usual eloquence, and were opposed by Mr Soper and Mr Maydwell, with whom a smart though unequal dis-

cussion was carried on. Captain Best then proposed a resolution in favour of the abolition of all protective duties. He said he was land owner, and he begged to ask the meeting whether they were prepared to support him in recommending the principles of free trade? [Loud cries of "Yes, yes."] Robert Austen, Esq., seconded the resolution in a brief speech. Mr James Capel (a tradesman of Guildford) proposed an amendment in favour of the corn laws; but, no person seconding it, Mr Capel withdrew it. The original resolution was then put and carried amid enthusiastic cheering, by a majority of at least four to one. The number of persons present considerably exceeded 2,000.

TRIUMPH OF FREE TRADE PRINCIPLES IN TORY BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.—On Monday evening the 21st ult., Dr Sleigh, the monopolist candidate for Aylesbury, according to previous announcement, addressed the electors and inhabitants of Aylesbury, in the county hall, where about 1,000 persons were assembled. Mr John Gibbs made some remarks in reply to Dr Sleigh, which elicited bursts of applause. He proposed a resolution declaring that the removal of all restrictions on trade would be the best way of lessening the amount of national distress, and tend to promote the interests of all classes. This resolution was seconded by Mr J. R. Gibbs, the editor of the *Aylesbury News*. The free trade resolution was then put by the chairman, and a forest of hands held up for it. Of the thousand persons present, there were not half a dozen who did not hold up their hands for free trade. Three loud cheers were then given for free trade, and Dr Sleigh retired from the hall discomfited and crest-fallen.

DENBIGH AGRICULTURAL DEMONSTRATION.—A meeting, convened by tenants and occupiers of land within the Vale of Clwyd, was held at Denbigh on Wednesday last, to take into consideration the unprecedentedly depressed state of agriculture, and the means best adapted to secure due protection to capital and labour. There is some reason to believe that this was meant to be quite a "no-surrender demonstration," as a sort of antidote to the triumphs of Messrs Cobden and Bright in the South, and the springs are said to have been set in motion by Lord Dungannon and Mr Griffiths. If so, the thing was a complete failure, for, though it was both market day and a fair day, and though the town was full of farmers, only about fifty attended the meeting, and the rest of the assembly, probably 300 more, consisted of the town's people. The chair was occupied by—Proby, Esq., Mayor of Denbigh. Messrs E. Rawlins, and F. Boult, jun., attended as a deputation from the Liverpool Anti-monopoly association. There was considerable opposition to the proposal that they should be allowed to address the meeting, Lord Dungannon strongly protesting against it, but the question having been decided in the affirmative, his lordship departed in high dudgeon, and was seen no more. After various speeches, a resolution declaring the expediency of a total and immediate repeal of the corn laws was carried by a large majority. A formal objection, founded on the requisition, was then taken to the right of the townsmen to vote—and a second division, limited to the farmers, was taken, when, for a moderate fixed duty, ten hands were held up, and for increased protection only three or four, the rest of the farmers present declining to vote either way.—*Liverpool Mercury.*

STATE OF SOUTH WALES.

The reports of the condition of this portion of the country represent society in the most disorganized state. "Were all the turnpikes," it is said, "voluntarily swept away to-morrow, this systematic opposition to the payment of tolls would only be diverted into another channel, and centre in opposition to the payment of poor rates, or tithes, or rents, or taxes. The cause of this feeling is to be sought, not so much in any abstract opposition to any one of these imposts, as in the poverty and increasing distress of the farming interest."

The following are a few of the more interesting extracts:

"The town (Carmarthen) throughout the week has been quiet and peaceable; but on Sunday last orders were given for the immediate departure of the dragoons for Newcastle Emlyn, where the rioters had assembled, with their numbers augmented to 15,000 or 20,000. The mob were so well armed and ready for action, that the dragoons could not enter the town until Monday morning, and the conflict that took place on Newcastle bridge is beyond description. The soldiers were thrown off their horses, their arms taken from them, and were afterwards thrown into the river Tivy, when one of the men, named Kearns, the rough rider, met a watery grave, and the others are so bruised from having fallen on the rocks below the bridge pool that they are no more fit for service. The union workhouse has also been entirely destroyed by fire, and it is feared that a great many gentlemen's houses will be destroyed in the course of the night. The mob, to the present moment, are in possession of the town, but a detachment of the 73rd regiment of infantry, under the command of Colonel Love, is expected to arrive this evening; they may retake the town, but it is generally believed that a great number must be slain on both sides before the termination of the conflict."

"As it may be interesting to some of your readers to know whence the Rebeccaites derive their name, it is understood to be founded on the 60th verse of the 24th chapter of Genesis, 'And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.'

Here is the description of the destruction of a gate:

"About a quarter before twelve last night," said he, "I was standing at the door of the tollhouse, which has been built about fifteen years, smoking my pipe, when, looking up the hill, upon hearing some talking, I saw two men at a distance of about fifty yards. After the men had talked a little, I saw a body of them, to the number of between 200 and 300 disguised, and with their

faces blacked—most of them had women's caps on, and they had Rebecca at their head; many of them were on horseback, but they dismounted at the top of the hill, and left their horses there. They then marched down the hill, and I could see that they were armed with guns and pistols, pickaxes, sledge hammers, and all sorts of offensive weapons. Being much alarmed, my wife and myself fled from the house, and I hid myself behind an ash tree, short distance off, but from which I could observe their motions. Upon their reaching the gate, Rebecca called out, 'Hollo! hollo! gate!' After a short interval, he gave the word of command, 'Go on, go on,' and the work of destruction immediately began. The whole of the mob fell to work, pulling down the gate, and sawing off the posts, which were of solid oak, and each four feet in circumference. A portion of the body also entered the tollhouse, and having thrown out the furniture on the road side, and torn down the bedstead, &c., they began pulling down the walls of the house, and left it and the gate in complete ruins. They kept firing guns and pistols at intervals during the whole period, which occupied upwards of an hour, and then, at the word of command marched up the hill and disappeared, taking with them the Waterloo medal of the collector, and about 12*s.* in silver which was in his desk, and escaping without detection, although they must have marched more than two miles each way upon the main London road to and from the scene of the outrage. When I went to the spot I saw the poor man and his family sitting houseless by the wayside."

"Above Narberth (Pembrokeshire) there are no toll-gates. There were nine on the Whitland trust, viz., Pulthrap, 1; Trevaughan, 2; Narberth east, 2; Narberth Plaindealings gate, 1; Princes or Ludchurch, 2; and Robertson Wathen, 1. Every one of these are down, and the houses also, with the exception of the house at Ludchurch, which is only partly demolished. Nor would the union houses here stand a single night unless garrisoned by military. I inquired carefully as to their reasons for apprehending another visit from 'Rebecca,' finding that she had not only been there three times already, but had destroyed all the gates above the town, and was informed by one of the magistrates that the redoubtable 'Rebecca' herself had on Monday evening passed through where the toll-gate and toll-house at the upper part of the town used to stand, and addressing the toll-collector demanded what he did there; and, upon the man's attempting to answer, told him that between that time and Thursday night, she and her children, to the number of 1,000, should come again, and that if he was there and demanded toll, she would not pay it, but blow his brains out. The toll-collector then asked what she could want there, as both the gate and the toll-house were down. 'Rebecca' replied that there were larger houses than that should come down. The man then said, 'What! the poorhouse?' 'I answer no questions, but you shall see,' was the answer, and she passed on, leaving the collector in a state of the utmost consternation."

On the 29th ult., a meeting of the magistrates of Pembroke was held, at which various remedies, such as calling out the pensioners, &c., were recommended.

"At length one of the magistrates said, 'Gentlemen—A number of remedies has been suggested, but I have not heard one observation made as to the real evil, which is the poverty and distress of the country, and which has arisen from high rents, increased and increasing tithes, exorbitant poor and highway rates, and excessive taxation; while the depression upon agricultural produce is such as to put it totally out of the power of any man to meet their demands.' This caused a general sensation, and the magistrate continued—'I call upon every gentleman present to lay his hand upon his heart and say if such be not the case.'

"This matter, however, was not entered upon, and the meeting separated.

"I shall offer no remark upon this, but am bound to say that I see nothing but distress in the country. The farmers, instead of living as we were used to see them, live and eat with their servants, and upon such simple food as barley bread and buttermilk, flummery and potatoes.

"Begelly, just below Narberth, is in the centre of eight parishes, which are all dependent upon the Anthracite collieries. I have myself personally inspected those collieries, and have seen at one of them, that of the Messrs Pocock, of St Bride's wharf, London, I should say upwards of from 8,000 to 12,000 tons of anthracite lying on the ground spoiling from the depressed state of the trade. There are others here—the Kilgetty, Broadmore, Merton, and Heancastle collieries—similarly situated. The proprietors must be suffering immense losses from the deterioration occasioned to this species of coal by its lying exposed to the weather; and the proprietors deserve high praise for spiritedly continuing the works under existing difficulties; for were they stopped, I fear that the result to this portion of the county, which is now peaceful and happy, would be lamentable."

A large body of mariners had arrived at Pembroke, from Plymouth, to protect the dockyard, and were addressed on their arrival by their commander (Sir W. O. Pell, C.B.) in the usual style, after having been fully armed.

The correspondent of Tuesday's *Times* has further additional information as to the fearful state of the whole district. He, however, denies the truth of the above statement, respecting a collision having taken place at Newcastle Emlyn, and the worsting of the military.

"In fact there has been no collision between the Rebeccaites and the military since the attack at Carmarthen on the Monday, although the work of gate destruction continues unabated, and is indeed carried on every night with greater effrontery than ever; they are, however, too wary, and have their outscouts too well posted to be caught, to which must be added that not a single person in the country would give information."

Meanwhile the magistrates of Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, and Pembrokeshire have issued manifestos containing warning and advice, but with apparently little effect. Some of them are very unpopular, as the following notice served upon one will show:

"To John Evans, of Pantwity—a tenant of Captain Davies of Green hall.

"SIR—I give you notice to quit your premises and take everything you have on your premises away, and put them safe, as we, Rebecca and her daughters, will be there to destroy the whole house, and everything in our power to destroy on the pre-

mises besides; as your master and other gentlemen are revenging upon the people they took to prison yesterday, we, Rebecca's daughters, are determined to have our revenge out upon them, to pull all their houses down, and put all their woods on fire, and likely murder them in the bargain."

"Since my last communication every gate between this place and Lampeter, a distance of 24 miles, has been destroyed, besides Landerrag gate, on the Swansea road; Port Newydd, across the Towy; Drefach gate, on Brechfa mountain; and New Inn gate, on the road from Llandilo to Talley."

THE LANCASTHIRE COLLIERIES.—Last Saturday a meeting of colliers was held at Gallows-hole toll, Dalkeith, for the purpose of adopting measures to secure higher wages and a diminution of the hours of labour. The meeting was attended by two delegates from each colliery, and by a Wm Daniels, a representative of the Miners' association of Great Britain and Ireland. The burden of their complaint was, that they worked late and early in noisome and dangerous pits, for the minimum of wages, and that they were in indigence and rags, while the idlers who reaped the benefit of their industry rioted in ease and luxury. They attributed this state of things to the want of union amongst themselves. Thousands had become members of the Miners' association, and during the previous week one thousand miners of the west of Scotland enrolled themselves, and took cards of membership. Seven lecturers are appointed, at a weekly stipend, to visit the several mines throughout the United Kingdom, and each colliery is being supplied with the laws and regulations of the association. This organisation of the miners has caused much uneasiness amongst the proprietors of collieries.—*Times*.

IRELAND.

REPEAL IN GALWAY.—A letter from Galway, June 26, says—"Yesterday afternoon Mr O'Connell entered our ancient town, accompanied by an immense multitude, one of the greatest congregations of human beings I ever beheld. As to the numerical amount, opinions so much vary that I shall not venture any estimate. Vast numbers had come in from the neighbouring counties of Clare, Mayo, and Roscommon. From an early hour the road was lined with people, and the trades, with their banners, and the music of the temperance bands, gave much animation and liveliness to the scene. Mr O'Connell addressed the vast multitude, who departed in the greatest order and quietness. The dinner took place in a pavilion of great extent, especially erected for the occasion. Lord Ffrench was the chairman. Mr O'Connell put the peaceable turn of his views more decided than he has yet done—

"It is but fortnight ago, when attending a meeting at Mallow, that there came upon me the maddening information that the country of my birth was threatened to be deluged with the blood of her children." * * * * * "Watching during that short period with an eye of eagerness the evolutions of our enemies, I now proclaim to you a perpetual peace, and a struggle—merely in political strife—bloodless, stainless, crimeless upon our part—leaving to our enemy the paltry resource only of a useless and unavailing resistance."

MR O'CONNELL IN DUNDALK.—Another repeal demonstration has taken place in this town, into which Mr O'Connell entered in triumph on Wednesday; the houses being decorated with green boughs, and triumphal arches having been erected in the principal streets. A splendid triumphal arch was placed at Haggardstown, within two miles of Dundalk, with a bust of O'Connell holding the keys of the Irish parliament house. Another arch, of stupendous magnitude, was placed across the street, near the shambles, ornamented with a number of flags, and a crown of roses pendant from its centre. At either side of this arch were placed representations of the Queen and Prince Albert; and on the arch itself was placed the following inscription:—"Ireland's Moses, who crushed our foes, welcome to Dundalk!" The people of Newry, and the trades and inhabitants of Dundalk, went out to meet the "Liberator." Not only were the people of Louth present, but large numbers from Carrickmacross, Kelly, and Killarney, attended the meeting; in all numbering, it is said, 300,000. £30 was presented to Mr O'Connell as the repeal rent. In the evening a dinner took place, attended by about 600 persons. The toasts, sentiments, and speeches, were of the usual description, with the exception of a speech from Mr Steele, the head pacificator, who, in speaking to the toast "The People," thus delivered himself:—

I will bring this awful war to a crisis (said the head pacificator of Ireland); yea, and without delay, for I will take the castle of Dublin [great laughter and long continued cheering]! I, some time ago, in a letter to the *Moral Regenerator*, gave the general principles of my plan [hear, hear]. I will get about 11 wild geese and keep them for some days ill fed, so that they may be hungry, but not so ill fed that they may be through weakness and inanition unable to fly, and fly too with a burden. I will then harness these 11 wild geese together, and then borrow from my dear friend Charles Green, the aeronaut, one of his baskets, in which, after attaching it to the harness, I will take my seat, with a pair of pistols, a few blunderbusses, a knife for cutting throats, and an Irish pike. To the point of the pike I will attach one of Lord Chancellor Sudgen's old wigs, and fill it with whatever victuals half starved geese most love to stuff themselves. Good. I will go into the basket, and hold the food for the geese above their heads on the point of the Irish pike—a pike of '98, which I will borrow from one of the town councillors of Dublin who has it as an heirloom [great laughter]. The hungry geese will, of course, fly upwards, in sublime aspirations after the aerial banquet. Well, next I horizontally direct the point of the pike towards the castle of Dublin, and the geese (not yielding to the needle of the compass in intellect) will fly in the direction of the castle. Good. Well, then I will hold the pike obliquely, at an angle say of 45 degrees to the horizon, when I come within the proper distance of the citadel of Dublin and its palace, and the hungry geese, never despairing of gorging themselves on the flying viands which I will hold before them on the pike head, will, of course, bring me down into the Lower Castle yard [laughter]. As soon, said the head pacificator, as I am within that awful fortalice, "the castle," I will put the garrison to the sword, and make a prisoner of war of his Excellency Lord De Grey; and singe off, with a burning *pawdhoque* his awfully blackened, dismal, horror-striking, martial, grey moustaches; and being in possession of the castle, the seat of government, I will of course make Daniel O'Connell King of Ireland [this exquisite sally of wit was followed by shouts of applause and laughter].

NEWMARKET.—The *Cork Examiner* says—"A splendid repeal demonstration took place on Sunday in the town of Newmarket. There were at least 50,000 persons assembled. This meeting was held on a common, about a quarter of a mile from the town, where a spacious platform was erected, and was addressed by Maurice O'Connell, M.P., the son of the liberator. The vast assemblage of human beings dispersed quietly, silently, and almost instantaneously, after the last cheer had been given for the Queen and Old Ireland."

MORE DISMISSELS OF MAGISTRATES.—The following magistrates have been superseded:—Denis M'Carthy, Esq., county of Cork; Sir Valentine Blake, Bart, M.P., Galway; Michael Dunne, Esq., and Joseph Lyons, Esq., Queen's county.

EJECTION OF TENANTRY.—The *Leinster Express* contains the following:—"On Monday last, a large force, consisting of a company of the 5th fusiliers, and eighty constabulary, proceeded to the lands of Clonagheen, near Mountmellick, with the sub-sheriff, to execute ejectments, and during the day fourteen families were dispossessed. However, some of them immediately dispossessed themselves, and five houses were thrown down."

Postscript.

Wednesday, July 5th, 1843.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE STADE DUTIES.—Mr Hutt last night called attention to the subject of the Stade duties, and moved for the production of the correspondence between this country and Hanover on the subject of the Stade duties. Sir John Hanmer seconded the motion in a few words condemnatory of the conduct of Hanover. Mr Gladstone gave credit to Mr Hutt for the motives by which he was actuated. Though Great Britain was more interested in the equitable adjustment of these duties, and was not disposed to tie up its hands by any agreement with other states, still the co-operation of the German states was desirable; and consul Macgregor, who had been instructed by the government to attend the conference of the Elbe states at Dresden, was daily expected in this country with information or proposals, on which the negotiation might be resumed with Hanover, and the matter definitively settled. He therefore opposed, in the present state of the question, the production of the correspondence, as sought by the motion. After a few words from Mr Labouchere, Mr Ewart commented on the absurdity of sending a consul from Elsinore to Dresden to watch a conference, instead of taking a prompt and direct course with Hanover on the subject. Dr Bowring also condemned the extravagant dues levied by Hanover, which ought to be content with one sixteenth, though even to that it was not justly entitled. Sir Robert Peel defended the government from inactivity or negligence on the subject of the Stade duties. No doubt this country, by reason of its superior power, could compel Hanover to accede to its views; but its very power was a reason for abstaining from its exercise towards an inferior state. Lord Palmerston thought that the government had assigned a number of bad or very unsatisfactory reasons for not producing the papers. He entreated that, at all events, they would produce the correspondence which had been carried on during the time of the late government, as it contained the Hanoverian view of the case, and could not possibly prejudice existing negotiations, unless the present government were prepared to abandon the interests of this country. Mr Hutt replied and withdrew his motion.

STATE OF IRELAND.

Mr W. S. O'BRIEN then brought on his motion—"That this House will resolve itself into a committee, for the purpose of taking into consideration the causes of the discontent at present prevailing in Ireland, with a view to the redress of grievances, and to the establishment of a system of just and impartial government in that part of the United Kingdom." The motion was justified by the extraordinary organisation now carrying on in Ireland, by which the "Repeal rent" had been raised from the weekly collection of £500 to £3,000, and all ranks and classes were combining to express their deep-rooted conviction that the parliament of this country did not do its duty to their country, and that nothing but a domestic legislature would remedy their grievances. Though not himself an advocate of the repeal of the union, he felt that the people looked to in despair of any other remedy of their wrongs. That object a determined people could obtain without shedding a drop of blood; and even if the government went to war with Ireland, their success would be wide-spread desolation, their failure the tarnishing the glory of England. Sensible of the inconveniences which would attend a repeal of the union, he felt, nevertheless, that Ireland might have been happier and more prosperous if that union had not been accomplished; his own experience as a member of the imperial legislature for twelve years had shown him how much Irish interests were neglected; and if the Union were not productive of benefit to his native land, he saw not why he should be afraid of adopting the other alternative. He concluded by warning ministers that in the present condition of Europe, and our relations with other states, Ireland, in its present condition, was a source of vital weakness to Britain.

Mr WYSE seconded the motion by an able speech, in which he reiterated, in his eloquent way, many of the topics urged by Mr Smith O'Brien. He glanced at the church, defended the catholic clergy, expatiated on the grievances of the country, and traced the operation of the gradual relaxation of the penal laws, from the first permission to allow catholics to hold land, down to their admission into the legislature. Catholic emancipation was the last of one series of concessions, and the first of another; they asked to be governed by the same laws

as England, and would continue to ask until they obtained it.

Lord ELIOT complained of the extensive range and variety of the topics embraced in the speeches of Mr O'Brien and Mr Wyse. The complaint of the great proportion of protestants to catholics in office was answered by the fact that no government could promote its political opponents, and the greater portion of the catholics of Ireland were opposed to the government. He was astonished that any class of men could be led away with the idea that the repeal of the union would prove a panacea for the evils of the country. He, for one, was prepared to resist the repeal, as a dismemberment of the empire. The government were administering the affairs of Ireland impartially; and he was amazed that its case should be compared to that of Canada, a distant colony, not an integral portion of the empire, having a legislature of its own, not participating in our advantages, and not sending representatives to the imperial parliament. Fixity of tenure was a delicate point, which had been rather avoided by Mr O'Brien. He freely admitted that "property had its duties as well as its rights;" but they were moral duties, not easily to be made legally cognisable. The established church must be considered as the establishment not only of Ireland, but of England; and the land which contributed the tithe mainly belonged to the protestant landowners; Mr O'Connell had himself admitted that not a tenth of the land belonged to catholics. He resisted the motion, as calculated to impeach the conduct of government, and to hold them up as not governing Ireland impartially.

Mr C. Wood then spoke in favour of the motion, and the debate was adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Dalhousie last night, after reciting briefly the arguments in favour of the measure with which the long debates in the lower house have already made the public familiar, moved that their Lordships should go into committee upon the Canada Corn bill. The motion was opposed by Lord Stanhope and the Duke of Richmond, principally on the ground that the bill was another step in advance towards free trade, and would lead to the admission of a large quantity of grain, partly Canadian, partly American, at a low rate of duty; but by Lord Radnor from motives almost precisely contrary. Lord Beaumont, on the other side again, supported the principle of protection, which he considered to be jeopardised by the present bill. The defence of the measure was conducted by Lord Wharncliffe, Lord Monteagle, and Lord Ashburton; and after a few words of modified dissent from Lord Teynham and the Duke of Buckingham, the original motion was carried by a majority of 57 to 25. The bill then went through committee.

SPAIN.—The *Moniteur de Paris* contains the following telegraphic despatches:—

"BAYONNE, JULY 2. The garrison of Pamplona and of the citadel made their *pronunciamiento* the day before yesterday. A junta has been formed, of which a brigadier has been appointed president.

"All the military posts on the frontier, except Irún and Fontarabia, have acknowledged the *pronunciamiento* of Navarre, according to the orders of the Captain-general.

"Van Halen has withdrawn to Jaén, where he arrived on the 21st. Cordova declared itself on the 23rd. The Governor and the garrison have proceeded to join Van Halen.

"Nothing new at Madrid on the evening of the 28th.

"PERPIGNAN, JULY 2. Ceuta, Algesiras, and the camp of San Roque, have made their *pronunciamiento*."

According to the correspondence of the *Journal des Débats* the authorities and officers of the Regent opposed a stronger resistance in Galicia to the sedition, than in any other part of the Peninsula. At Corunna they did not join in the movement as elsewhere. A battalion held out during two days, and only yielded at the last extremity to the summons of the national guard. At Santiago de Compostella, the garrison was obliged to capitulate by famine, and insisted on the admission of two of its delegates into the Junta. It is in the country round Lerida (says the *Débats*) that the fate of the insurrection may be decided. Castro and Prim are now manoeuvring to outflank Seoane and Zurbano, and oblige them to retire into the fortress and open a communication with the militias of the upper valleys marching upon Balaguer.

DUBLIN REPEAL DEMONSTRATION.—On Monday, a demonstration got up by the trades of London, took place at Donnybrook. Each of the trades, headed by its temperance band, marched two and two, and, in some instances, four abreast, with the utmost precision and regularity, the bands playing "Patrick's Day," "Garryowen," "God save the Queen," "See the Conquering Hero Comes," and other popular airs. The coal porters went in a body to Donnybrook and Fair green preceded by a band. Forty-three trades were represented in the procession, and the number of tradesmen who joined in the procession is said to have been 17,280. The immense procession proceeded through the city, and stopped opposite Mr O'Connell's residence, who appeared at a balcony, and was received with tremendous cheering. They then passed on to the green, where upwards of 100,000 persons were assembled, where a platform was erected capable of containing 300 persons. At half-past three o'clock Mr O'Connell arrived, and was received with great enthusiasm. Mr J. O'Connell was called to the chair, and various gentlemen then addressed the meeting. Mr O'Connell laying great stress on the advantages to be procured by repeal.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

The supply is 1,020 quarters of English; 1,400 foreign. Very little doing, at Monday's prices.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"V. L." The advertisement is 6s.
"Fabricius" and "G. C." Our rule excludes the insertion of their lines.
"W. B." We have no present intention of re-publishing the articles on the voluntary principle.
"A Real Voluntary" seems to mistake us and the scope of our paper.
"E. Wilks." The insertion of his letter would subject us to the advertisement duty.
"Constant Reader." It is legal, if consented to by the parish.
Communications have been received from "A Sunday School Teacher," "J. R.," "Andrew Christie," "Walter Griffith," and "B. Wills."

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 5, 1843.

SUMMARY.

THE postscript of our last number contained a brief outline of an interesting debate held on the previous evening in the house of Commons on post office reform. The subject was brought forward in a luminous speech by Sir Thomas Wilde, who proved against the subordinates of the post office department a charge of negligence, ignorance, bungling, and waste. He made it pretty clear to the public that the partial failure of Mr Rowland Hill's scheme was to be mainly ascribed to the very partial application of it—that the suggestions which tended to reduce the revenue were adopted, but that those which would have gone to sustain it were rejected. Sir Thomas, consequently, moved for inquiry into the whole case. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made but a feeble reply; but having obliged Sir Thomas Wilde to submit to some change in the terms of his motion, ministers agreed to an investigation into the progress of post office reform, and into its effect on the public convenience. Should the inquiry be prosecuted before an impartial tribunal some good may be expected to arise out of it.

The marriage of the Princess Augusta to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, on Wednesday evening, gave to our over-burdened senators a welcome holiday. On Thursday the House went into committee on the Arms (Ireland) bill, commencing with the 7th clause. No less than eight hours were spent in carrying two clauses and debating another; and, on Monday evening, after numerous divisions, three clauses more were affirmed by the committee. The opposition, being in this instance a sincere one, dispute, as it is fit they should, with unyielding pertinacity, every inch of ground, and by the very vigour of their proceedings, threaten to compel the withdrawal of the bill, or to protract the parliamentary session to a most inconvenient length. Should they follow up the course upon which they have entered with unabating zeal, we should not be greatly surprised if the Arms bill were to share the fate of the educational clauses of the Factories bill. Sir Robert Peel may command the services of his majority in inflicting upon the country any amount of oppression, but no mortal minister, in ordinary times, can calculate upon keeping together a requisite amount of forces, after the termination of the month of July.

On Friday, the House was occupied with a bootless conversation touching the last election for the borough of Nottingham. Mr Gisborne made a motion for inquiry, and prefaced it with a speech which reflected somewhat severely upon Lord Lincoln, son and heir of the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Lincoln, in reply, professed his readiness to consent to such inquiry, urging only an extension of its range. Sir Robert Peel, seeing that the parties interested in it had assented to it, professed his intention not to oppose it, although he thought that the precedent was a dangerous one. An amendment was subsequently proposed by Mr Francis Baring, limiting the investigation to the question, whether or not the witnesses who appeared before the last election committee had been tampered with, either to falsify or withhold their testimony. To this proposal, Mr Gisborne and Lord Lincoln intimated their willingness to give way, when Sir Robert Peel suddenly wheeled round and declared that he saw no ground for the original motion, which, with all the amendments, was immediately withdrawn. The whole thing was an ill-got-up farce.

On the same evening Mr Hume proposed the resolution of which he had given notice, for the withdrawal of the pension of £21,000, now annually paid for the maintenance and support of

Ernest Augustus, duke of Cumberland, and king of Hanover. It was met, of course, by sundry aphorisms on the importance of maintaining inviolate the public faith. A minority of 91, however, voted for Mr Hume's resolution; against it, and with ministers, 197.

The House of Lords has been busy on the Scotch Church bill, the construction of which has given great offence to those law lords who gave judgment in the Auchterarder appeal case. On Monday night, Lord Brougham made one of his desperate onslaughts upon Lord Aberdeen; represented the bill as an affront to those judges who took part in the decision of the Auchterarder case, and as calculated to lower the dignity of the bench. He was ably supported by Lord Cottenham; but found the ministerial phalanx too powerful to be broken. His amendments were rejected by majorities of about three to one.

Getting away from the dullness of parliament the state of South Wales claims our first attention. No less than three counties—Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke—are in commotion, little short of civil war. Toll gates are leveled night after night. Workhouses are guarded by military bands. The whole people seem to be infected with virulent discontent. No informer can be found to give notice of the movements of Rebecca and her admirers. Now one place is threatened, then another. Secret conspiracy of the most formidable character exists, and government finds the utmost difficulty in coping with this new element of warfare. The evidence is plain and palpable that the agriculturists and peasantry of South Wales are ground down by fearful oppression. Poverty has come upon them and made them reckless of all consequences. Misery is all but universal, and that without the smallest prospect of relief.

We need only refer to our report of the proceedings and speeches at the complete suffrage *soirée* at Northampton to prove the hold which this question is now taking upon the public mind. When ministers of the gospel and influential members of society are earnestly devoting themselves to the promotion of it, not because it is politically expedient, but because it is true and right, well-founded hopes may be entertained of the not-distant triumph of this cause. We have spoken elsewhere, at large, upon the power it possesses to awaken honest enthusiasm, and every report which we receive, whether of lectures, or of public meetings, tends to confirm the impressions to which we have there given utterance. We have not the smallest doubt that so soon as parliament rises, and all hope of relief from that quarter shall have been cut off, complete suffrage will make head with unprecedented rapidity, and the year 1844 will see it converted into a great national movement.

The overland mail arrived on Monday with news from China and India. The intelligence from the celestial empire requires no comment. So much cannot be said of that from Scinde. We are not much in the habit of quoting from the *Times*, but the remarks extracted from an article which appeared in that paper yesterday are so much to the purpose, and place the matter in so clear a light, that we cannot allow even their length to preclude us from giving insertion to them in our summary.

"So it seems, that instead of finding India at peace on our withdrawal from Afghanistan—instead of being allowed to reduce our war establishment, to cultivate friendly relations with our neighbours, to restore their confidence in our moderation and justice, to engage ourselves in great works of national advantage, to foster trade and commerce, and enforce peace and security within our own territory—we are actually again plunged in a contest, of which, however Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier may talk, it is impossible to see the end, in Scinde; and are snuffing very suspiciously indeed at what we hope soon to find a fat carcase ready for our dissection—the empire of our very good friend and ally, the ruler of the Punjab.

"Many of the Scindian people,' we were last month told by Sir Charles Napier, in the exultation of victory, 'who are all in great delight at the destruction of their Beloochee oppressors, have come into the camp from various parts, and bring assurances that Meer Shere Mohammed has fled into the desert with his family and about forty followers; but as Emaun Ghur has been destroyed, the heat will soon force him to quit this temporary retreat, where there is no protection from the sun. He will therefore probably attempt to reach Moultan. I have written to his Highness Ali Mourad to arrest his progress in that direction if possible, and to make him prisoner.'

"Three Beloochee chiefs fell in the action; one of them was the great promoter of the war, Hoche Mohammed Seedee; and I have every reason to believe that not another shot will be fired in Scinde.'

"Such was last month's news. If any one doubted that all difficulty on the part of the refractory Amers was now finally and satisfactorily settled, that person was not Sir Charles Napier. The people of the country delighted—our enemy without troops, without shelter, and to be intercepted on his first movement from his 'temporary refuge' by our good friend Ali Mourad! No wonder that 'not another shot was to be fired in Scinde.' For our own part we ventured, upon the receipt of this news, to hint that the General might be reckoning without his host; and so it seems not unlikely to prove. We are now told that this same Shere Mohammed, instead of staying, a mere vagabond, to be baked into submission in the desert, as anticipated by Sir C. Napier, has 'got over the river, and incited

some of the mountaineers of the Beloochee tribes to join his standard, and approach to the banks of the Indus within five or six miles from Hyderabad." Ali Mourad, who was to have laid his paw upon our enemy the moment he stirred from his retreat, "is no longer to be depended upon." And other accounts state the force which this houseless fugitive, immediately upon the "destruction" of a numerous and determined army, is at once able to command, at no less than 20,000 men. Sir Charles Napier, we are further informed, had given him notice, that if he did not take himself off, he would "proceed to rout him"—and so he may. But, unfortunately, it is becoming more and more clear, that the Belooches will take a great deal of "routing." Nothing could be more complete than the "rout" at Meaneen—nothing more sanguine, as we have seen, than the anticipations which the general in command founded upon that event; yet here is the same ruler, in command of the same number of men, at about the same distance as before from the very centre of our conquests, prepared to receive the same beating, probably with the same inadequate result. This untiring hostility, which such a succession of decisive disasters seems unable to break or intimidate, founded too, as it doubtless is, on a strong and national sense of injustice and dishonour, does not bode well for our tranquillity in our new acquisitions.

In Spain, according to the *Journal des Debats*, two-thirds of the kingdom, from the Pyrenees to Segovia, have joined in the insurrection. The movement is extending to the Basque provinces, where a portion of the army has already declared, and there is little doubt of its soon gaining Pampluna. The Asturias are following at this moment the example of Castile. In Arragon, Teruel and the mountainous districts have raised the standard, and Saragosa remains isolated. Seoane is unable to provide against unforeseen events in that province, having already as much as he can do to retain the Catalonian army before Lerida. The whole of Andalusia has revolted, with the sole exception of Cadiz. The only provinces remaining faithful to the government are Arragon, Estremadura, and La Mancha, where the Regent is now. None of the revenues of the state are paid into the Madrid treasury; all the public monies have been seized by the juntas, and all the taxes are levied in the name of the insurrection. In the mean time the corps of troops, the arsenals, and all the means of action are taken out of the hands of the government, whose orders are nowhere obeyed, and Madrid remains in an almost complete isolation. It must be remembered, however, that this is a representation made by Espartero's foes. The position of the Regent is, unquestionably, embarrassing, and he may yet be compelled to give way before the storm.

THE POWER OF THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

CONSIDERABLE obloquy has been incurred by the advocates of complete suffrage, as the result of what is called their dogmatism and pertinacity. So long as they confined themselves to the discussion and elucidation of the political truths they held—so long as their object was limited to the exhibition of their principles in advantageous lights, they were viewed by party liberals with some degree of favour. They were regarded as scattering abroad upon the surface of society, at no trivial cost to themselves, the seeds of change, which when matured into a full crop, whig politicians might step in and reap. Men were pleased to look upon them as a band of pioneers, whose services, in advance of the main body of party, were needed to clear away the tangled underwood, and to level the more solid impediments which obstructed the free march of reform-club projects. Many, therefore, were the half-conservative and influential adherents of the last administration who cheered them forward—who, trusting to make complete suffrage doctrines a lever for effecting the upset of a tory government, smiled approbation and sanctioned the new creed with a kind of patronising encouragement. Hence, the seeming rapid progress of the movement in its earliest stages.

When, in due time, it became palpable that the advocates of this cause were men in earnest—when it was discovered that they were too unbending to accommodate their plans of warfare to party convenience, that they intended to reap for themselves what themselves had sown, and that they determined upon appropriating to complete suffrage candidates every parliamentary vote which their own efforts could win—immediately, kindness was converted into indignation, and harshest reprobation was substituted for unmeaning praise. Then, we were playing over again the old game of intolerance, breaking into powerless sections the compact liberal interest, and doing the work of the direst foes of the people. Our doctrines were extreme—our creed stuffed with absurdities—our practical efforts insolent and overbearing. We were engaged upon a Quixotic mission—we were attempting to move the world without a fulcrum whereon to rest our machinery—political enthusiasts, intoxicated dreamers, confirmed quacks.

Time has rolled on, and whilst it has added to the number of our days, it has likewise contributed to our stock of experience. We have seen the gradual consolidation of aristocratic power—a legislature grown to that independent strength that there is nothing hostile to public opinion which it is too bold to dare—nothing, urged with what vehemence soever by the people, which it trembles to refuse. We have witnessed the attack

of this stronghold by an organisation of acknowledged might, and scarcely a brick of the edifice has been displaced. We look forward, and we discern no sure prospect of improvement. Discontent in abundance exists—but no hope. Another general election promises no substantial change. The chains of slavery are riveted upon our constituencies. The iron has eaten into their soul. A melancholy stupor has overspread the electoral class. Despondency has consumed whatever heart they had, and left them reckless of all future ill, and anxious only for immediate advantages. What wonder that they have become all but universally corrupt—and that where public improvement is felt to be hopeless, private profit should be grasped at with avidity in its stead?

It ought now to become a question of serious import with all who are friendly to national progress, whether means exist, and what they are, which will light up in the bosoms of electors the fire of hope—refine them, for a period at least, into honest patriots, and purge them of the dross which forms an ever-thickening accretion about their despair. Here is, on the one hand, a system of aristocratic government so strongly intrenched, so buttressed up by law, that it may safely set at nought all opposition save that of national enthusiasm. Here is, on the other, a limited constituency, succumbing beneath the pressure of distress, without hope, and, therefore, without heart. The question occurs, whether there be within the wide range of political truth, any doctrines which by their inherent dignity may command the homage of men in like circumstances. There is, in the nature even of the meanest, the most degraded, the most profligate, overlaid as it may be by successive layers of selfishness, a spring of humanity which, could it but be reached and unsealed, would instantly pour forth streams of pure and patriotic feeling. Down in some dark and unobserved nook of every man's being, there dwells a will, which, if it might be conversed with freely and won to our purpose, would come forth and snap every chain fastened about the outward politician by aristocratic wiles, as easily as did Sampson the newly-spun cords of the Philistines. It becomes now a matter of the last importance to determine, what is that appeal which wisely and perseveringly urged will find such a response in the electoral mind. Fiscal and commercial reforms have, we think, proved themselves unequal to the occasion. No purely economical question has power to go into the inner chamber of human nature, and constrain the inhabitant within to rise up and do it reverence, to bend the knee before it in willing subjection, and swear eternal fealty to its authority. And yet, nothing less than such a power will serve us in the desperate exigency to which we are now reduced.

To no question now agitating the public mind does this power more appropriately belong, in none does it reside with such a fulness of energy, as that of complete suffrage. Associated with peace, sobriety, and religion, it constitutes about the only weapon which may be wielded, with any promise of permanent success, against aristocratic usurpation. Nor is this strange. The result is in strict accordance with all the laws of philosophy. The truth involved in the question is but the political modification of a maxim which, springing from the Uncreated Mind, commands the instant assent of his intelligent creatures—"Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you." As such, it makes its appeal to the loftiest aspirations, and to the strongest sympathies, of human kind. By paying deferential respect to man, as man, it begets respect in its turn. Recognising the rights of humanity, it lays hold at once of humanity's fond and beating heart. Its doctrines are all of an elevating influence. They raise the *status* of mankind. They awaken hope by inculcating self-reliance. They breathe into the spirit the warm breath of life. Men feel placed by them in a position of moral dignity to which they had been, heretofore, entire strangers. They become conscious of their own worth; and the voice which whispers in their ears sentiments of becoming reverence, startles into activity a new order of feelings, places before them a higher standard of right and wrong, and cleaves its way, through interposing prejudices and conventional habits, down to the very depths whence all pure and disinterested affections gush forth.

We speak not unadvisedly. This political truth has been proclaimed in many and variously-assorted assemblies. Urged as a political expedient merely, it has uniformly failed. But driven home to the conscience as a great moral question—a question not of party against party, but of humanity against its usurping oppressors, of right against might, of nature against conventionalism, of religion against the selfishness of exclusive power—it has invariably triumphed, and proved itself able to sway the mind whithersoever it might list, and to create an enthusiasm such as no other question of the day can pretend to evoke. It would seem to matter but little what are the circumstances, or what the position, of the men whom it fairly addresses. It seizes prejudice with a giant hand, and shakes

it into atoms. It has convinced men of the coolest judgment, and taken hold upon the consciences of men of the most elevated piety. Alarmists have been soothed by it, and the most timid induced to pay it court as a household acquaintance. No longer a bugbear to make even stout men tremble, it has won the hearts of cultivated and retiring females. It has done more. It has achieved still more arduous victories. Under the very fortresses of aristocracy, it has roused political serfdom itself to an assertion of its rights; and has taught the dusky and stolid countenances of an ignorant peasantry to beam with the kindling of their souls within them. Who can forget its talismanic power in Nottingham? Who has not heard, and hearing admired, its moral triumphs in Tavistock? Aye! and even in this metropolis, now well-nigh stagnant from its own overgrowth, the Daniel Lambert of cities—even here, wherever the question can be fairly mooted, it elicits a response the very tone of which suffices to convince us that it comes up from the lowest heart. The complete suffrage *soirée* at Finsbury, of the proceedings at which we gave but a meagre outline in the postscript of our last number, showed that even in London, where men are in danger of losing their sense of individuality, and becoming, to their own consciousness, only component parts of a mighty mass of life, the power of this question is irresistible, and will succeed far beyond all others in stirring up the slumbering energies of the political world.

The practical account to which this may be turned we must reserve to a future number.

THE STEEL REGIMENT.

THE present government seems to be deficient in invention. It is quite evident that they possess not the organ of constructiveness. There is no variety in their measures—no attempt to adapt them to the changing circumstances of the people. They treat distress in one way only—namely, by quartering soldiers upon it. The insurrection of last August might have convinced them that the whole social body was in a state of disorganisation. That insurrection they quelled by military force, and punished by special commission. But here they stopped; and the present parliament, under their auspices, has proceeded as leisurely, as cavalierly, and as uselessly, as though the nation were enjoying ample abundance. In Ireland, distress assumes another shape, and throws itself into a peaceful but formidable movement for repeal. What is the course thereupon taken by our conservative legislature? What effort is made to allay irritation, or by wise and beneficent measures, to break down the compact ranks of the disaffected? Not a single one. Maddened Ireland is dealt with after the same manner as phrenzied England, and the remedy applied consists of more troops and an Arms bill. South Wales is terrified with the deeds of Rebecca and her daughters. Vexatious and heavy imposts cripple all the operations of the farmer, and bear with terrible pressure upon the peasantry. Discontent, fermenting for a lengthened period, at last breaks out in riot and disorder. What do our rulers propose? They send soldiers to Wales, but devise no relief. Wherever disease convulses the body politic, they put it under the regimen of cold steel. Their sole reliance is upon physical force. They have no confidence whatever in justice or generosity. Might is their law—the single principle of their existence; and, with iron heel, they trample upon the best interests and most cherished feelings of the community.

It were, in truth, a melancholy but not entirely profitless task, to run the eye over the records of the parliamentary session now drawing to its close, and to mark the fearful absence of anything which even assumes to be regarded as a remedial measure. Even the Canada Corn bill, which comes nearest to this description, was stated by its author to make no pretensions to afford relief to the British people. The Factories bill, the educational clauses of which Sir James Graham was compelled, after stiff encounter, to withdraw, professing, as it did, to be remedial, was, nevertheless, nothing but an insidious attempt to rivet upon this nation the chains of aristocracy. We have had votes of thanks to our armies—grants of money to our princesses. We have had party debates, and a due proportion of field-nights; but we look in vain for any legislative evidence of the government's appreciation of existing distress, or of any attempt, honest even if mistaken, to cure the malady which preys upon the vitals of the country. Every proposal which looked in this direction has been unhesitatingly rejected. The repeal, or modification of the laws which restrict the importation of food—and which, by reflex influence, narrow the markets, and unnerve the enterprise of our manufacturing population, has been peremptorily denied. The sugar monopoly remains untouched. The expenditure of the country has been subjected to no retrenchment. On every hand appear the portents of misery, and our legislators make no effort to abate it. The only energy they display is the energy of coercion. The nation asks for bread, and

they give it a stone—for an egg, and they give it a scorpion.

And is it come to this? Are Englishmen fit only to be ruled by the sword? And is this broad land to be converted into one garrison for military officers, and an organised police? How long is this unexampled state of things to continue, wherein all the rights and privileges of manhood are held in abeyance by disciplined physical force? We answer, so long as the electoral class continue to entertain their foolish predilections for a pampered aristocracy, and to withhold from their unenfranchised brethren an equal participation of their rights. Affairs are only now running in the train which, more than twelvemonths ago, we distinctly predicted. Under the present system we see no prospect of their improvement; rather of their deterioration at a progressive ratio. It had been well if the last insurrection had proved a sufficient warning to the middle classes of the danger to their own liberties of upholding the privileges of caste. It is even now not too late to lay the foe prostrate in the dust. But we need hardly say that such a victory can only be achieved by a frank surrender of the pride of station, and a hearty union on behalf of the rights of man. Till then we must submit to the steel regimen.

DISSENTERS LIFE AND FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

—The report of the present condition and future prospects of this company, which was read at their fourth annual meeting, presents many encouraging features of its increasing usefulness. We take an extract or two:—

"Of the fire policies issued by the company, 586, covering £565,230, are on colleges, chapels, and school rooms, belonging to various sections of the dissenting body, and 345, insuring £128,860, are on the residences and furniture of ministers.

"The gross amount of fire premiums received during the past year, is £6723 12s. 3d., and of life premiums £12,570 7s. 2d.; whilst the losses incurred are in the fire department £2466 13s. 3d., and in the life £2355.

"In their last report, the directors had to state a great excess of loss in the fire department, over the average of previous years, and they expressed a hope that such excess would be counterbalanced by a diminished amount during subsequent periods. This hope has already been happily realised, the fire losses during the past year being £5129 16s. 5d. less than those of the previous year.

"Of the life losses incurred during 1842, nearly one half has been on the lives of ministers. One of these had taken out a policy for £100, the gross premiums paid on which amounted only to £13 12s. 3d., and another had been assured in the sum of £1,000 by the considerate and praiseworthy liberality of one or two friends. The benefits accruing in these cases to the families of the deceased, may well stimulate others to make similar provision, according as Divine Providence has favoured them with the means of doing so. A more appropriate exhibition of the esteem in which the Christian pastor should be held, cannot be furnished, and the directors will be gratified to lend every assistance in their power towards the accomplishment of so desirable an end.

"The general result, therefore, of the company's accounts is a profit to the proprietors, after paying the loss on their fire business, of £2428 11s. 7d., to the assurers on Table No. II., £3169 14s. 1d., and to the ministers' fund of £737 2s. 5d. The second of these amounts will give to the assurers on Table No. II. a bonus of about 12 per cent. on the gross amount of premiums they have paid; whilst the sum appropriated to the ministers' fund will give to the parties interested therein, a bonus of about 10½ per cent.; making together a bonus of 22½ per cent., to such ministers as are assured on the terms of Table No. II. This bonus it has been resolved by the board to apply in the case of ministers wholly to the reduction of their premiums during the next five years; and in the case of assurers on Table No. II. it will be applied in the same manner, or be paid in cash, or be added in its reversionary value to policies, according to the selection originally made by the assured themselves. The satisfactory state of their accounts has induced the directors to determine on adding one per cent. to the dividend hitherto declared on the paid up capital of the company, as also to pay the income tax on such dividends without making reduction from the individual proprietors. * * * The experience of the past encourages future exertion, and the directors therefore trust that in their several localities the proprietors will do their utmost to extend the business of the company by seeking to engage in its behalf the co-operation and patronage of their several friends. The interests of all will be thus advanced, and essential service be rendered to the benevolent object which the institution is designed to subserve."

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS AUGUSTA OF CAMBRIDGE.—The marriage of her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta, eldest daughter of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, with his Royal Highness Frederick, hereditary grand duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, was solemnised on Wednesday evening, in the chapel royal, Buckingham palace. The ceremony was graced by the presence of her Majesty the Queen, and his Royal Highness Prince Albert, their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians, his Majesty the King of Hanover, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, and other members of the royal family. The principal foreign ambassadors, the chief ministers of state, and a large number of the leading nobility, were honoured with invitations. The Archbishop of Canterbury read the service, the Bishop of London giving the responses. The bride was given away by her father the Duke of Cambridge, instead of the King of Hanover, as was intended. After the ceremony her Majesty gave an evening party. The royal bride and bridegroom took their departure for Cambridge house, and thence proceeded to Kew.

There are at present three queens and two kings in London—the Queen of England, the Queen Dowager, and the Queen of the Belgians; the King of Hanover, and the King of the Belgians.

THE STRIKE.

ITS HISTORY, CAUSES, AND CONSEQUENCES.

(From a Manchester Correspondent.)

[We do not hold ourselves responsible for the opinions contained in these papers.]

XX.

Continuation of Trades' Delegate meeting—Its Dispersion and Arrest of its Chairman—The Chartist Delegate Meeting—The "Executive" Address—Conclusion of the Narrative.

The Trades' delegates met again on Wednesday morning, and, after adjourning to the Chartist room, Brown street, in order to avoid the crowds which kept assembling round the doors, admitted some new delegates, and passed a resolution, recommending the trades to form themselves into committees, and make arrangements for carrying out the grand resolution, by issuing trade bills, and inducing the shopkeepers and others to take them in payment.

At this meeting the number of persons was not more than 60; a great many having gone to their localities to carry news of the decision of the delegates. Two or three delegates from the artizans expressed the determination of their trades immediately to go to work. Some recriminations followed; and one or two persons, after scolding the meeting for want of principle and want of resolution, left the room. A resolution calling for funds, and one appointing a permanent executive committee, were passed, and the meeting adjourned. A small number of persons met on Thursday; and on Friday a meeting of shopkeepers was called, but the shopkeepers were either acting as special constables, or had "some other engagement," for they did not come. The executive committee sat again. On Saturday, at day break, Hutchinson was arrested at his house, by a warrant from the county magistrates, charging him with conspiracy and other grave crimes. The executive committee met and issued a concluding address, which states that it is clear, from the evidence elicited in their discussions, that political disfranchisement is the true source of the inability of the labouring classes to obtain remunerative and steady wages—that the only real means by which the working millions can be effectually relieved and raised up "from the depths of degradation into which they are at present reduced," is the enactment of the people's charter—that a national cessation from labour, until the arrival of that period, was recommended; the address proceeds thus:—

"Owing to the occurrence of the late civil commotions, of which we had not the slightest anticipation, and which we exceedingly regret, we found that the carrying out of this resolution would be, for the present, impracticable. But we dissolve with the firm determination that as soon as our organisation is sufficient for, and our resources adequate to, the commencement of a national cessation from labour, until the charter becomes the law of the land, we shall do so, legally and constitutionally; and we fear not but the result will crown our cause with victory."

"Relying on your influence, courage, and perseverance, we are, fellow citizens, in the cause of truth and justice,

"THE TRADES' DELEGATES."

The strike was, after this address, virtually at an end.

On Monday, August 15, the Manchester masters issued the following resolution:—

"That the mills and other public works in Manchester and Salford be not opened for work until the workpeople therein employed signify their desire to resume labour."

This decided resolve hastened the termination of a struggle the principal leaders in which soon afterwards retired.

We must now go back to Tuesday, August 16th, to review the proceedings of the chartist association and their conference. It has been already stated, that on this day it had been intended to have a grand demonstration, and that such intention had been abandoned. It has likewise been mentioned, that a conference of chartist delegates, called to heal up differences amongst the leaders, and to revise the chartist organisation, was also to be held.

About thirty delegates assembled. This number included the executive, Mr F. O'Connor, and the Rev. Mr Hill. The first sitting took place at an inn in Oldham street, on Tuesday afternoon, and was adjourned to the Rev. Mr Scholefield's chapel in Every street, on Wednesday morning.

The proceedings, owing, no doubt, to the all-absorbing nature of the events then going forward, showed no colour of the matters to consider which the meeting had been convened. It was, in fact, a grave discussion as to whether the chartist body should or should not join in the strike. The meetings were held with a cautious absence of publicity. What took place on Tuesday afternoon is not clearly known; but, early on Wednesday morning an address from the Executive committee of the National Chartist association to the people appeared on the walls, and was transmitted to every part of the disturbed districts. This extraordinary document—powerfully written, and appealing passionately to men excited with strong passions and elevated by unbounded hopes—produced a great sensation everywhere. Appearing, too, alongside the just adopted resolution of the trades' delegates, it gave an *éclat* to the latter document which it would not otherwise have possessed. A few passages follow:—

"Peace, law, and order have prevailed on our side—let them be revered until your brethren in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, are informed of your resolution; and when a universal holiday prevails, which will be the case in eight days, then of what use will bayonets be against public opinion? What tyrant can then live above the terrible tide of thought and energy which is now flowing fast, under the guidance of man's intellect, which is now destined by a Creator to elevate his people above the reach of want, the rancour of despotism, and the penalties of bondage?"

"Countrymen and brothers, centuries may roll over us as they have fleet past, before such universal action may again be displayed: we have made the cast for liberty, and we must stand, like men, the hazard of the die."

"Brethren, we rely upon your firmness; cowardice, treachery, or womanly fear would cast our cause back for half a century. Let no man, woman, or child break down the solemn pledge; and if they do, may the curse of the poor and the starving pursue them! They deserve slavery who would madly court it."

"Our machinery is all arranged, and your cause will, in three days, be impelled onward by all the intellect we can summon to its aid; therefore, whilst you are peaceful, be firm; whilst you are orderly, make all be so likewise; and whilst you look to the

law, remember that you had no hand in making it, and are therefore the slaves to the will, the law, and the price of your masters."

The sitting on Wednesday was consumed in the delivery of reports upon the state of feeling in different parts of the country; and in passing a resolution, approving of the extension of the "strike for the charter," and pledging the meeting to superintend or watch over the proceedings in their several localities; and an address, an echo of the resolution, to the people. Mr O'Connor was one of the opponents to the resolution. He wished to throw the origination and responsibility for the strike solely upon the anti-corn-law League—why, no one can tell; and in the address passed, drawn up by him, a broad hint of the belief of the meeting in this odd paternity of the strike is dexterously squeezed in. After a vote of thanks to the executive, the meeting broke up—each man going to his home, there to fan the flame in the manner and at the time he thought best.

But the strike virtually ended, as we have said before, with the mortuary address of the trades' delegates. True, many stirring scenes, on a small scale, passed over. True, labour did not recommence in Manchester until about a month from the commencement of the cessation; and a period of six weeks elapsed before the hands in the Ashton district went in. True, the whole of the turned-out district enjoyed, on the average, a twenty-five days' holiday, and many a trade met, schemed, planned, struggled, and failed. All these things might be related; but why go through the sickening detail of the turn-out retreat? why relate the horrors of that weary march back to an old and hated position? It is better not to paint the picture; the mere mention of the subject calls up the vision of a worn-out crew, who, at length escaped from the tyranny which pinched, and starved, and scourged them, career joyfully across the ocean, and soon come in sight of the land they long to visit—but, overtaken by the storm, are cast helpless upon the rocks which gird the shore they love; there the imagination sees them, amid the roaring of the black waters, and the howling of the tempest, clinging with desperate tenacity to the broken rigging of their once proud craft, until losing strength, and dead to hope, they drop, one by one, into the grave yawning to receive them, and the waves, washing over all, obliterate every trace of their existence.

To those who watched the slow return to labour, and saw the poor wretches, pale, haggard, and spirit-broken, one by one, begin to toil anew; and who knew, that many of them fainted at their looms from weakness, and that many others were unable to muster strength sufficient to follow their old occupations—the recollection of the decadence of this singular movement is painful indeed. Many a poor family, too, who had stood out to the very last, in the lingering hope that some little light might, perchance, break in upon the darkness, went, tardily and fearfully, to the old mill or workshop to humbly beg again to be allowed to work, and found strangers "whom they knew not" already in their places, and the last avenue thus shut against them!

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Arms (Ireland) bill, against, 1.
Commons Inclosure bill, against, 1.
Cooper and others, for mitigation of treatment of, 3.
Corn laws, for repeal of, 1.
Factories bill, against, 132.

for, 1.

Parochial Assessments act, for amendment of, 1.

Poor Relief (Ireland) act, for amendment of, 1.

Scientific Societies bill, for, 3.

Turnpike Roads bill, against, 1.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILL PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

Law Courts (Ireland) bill.

BILL READ A SECOND TIME.

Bridges (Ireland) bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Arms (Ireland) bill.
2. Scientific Societies bill.
3. Grand Jury Presentments (Ireland) (No. 2) bill.
4. Appeals, &c., Privy Council, bill.

BILL READ A THIRD TIME AND PASSED.

Pound-break and Rescue bill.

MOTION.

Supply.—"That the order of the day for the committee of supply be now read;" amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words, "it appears that Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, received for many years, under the sanction of acts of the British parliament, a pension of £21,000 sterling from the British exchequer for his maintenance and support as a prince of the royal family of England; that, in the year 1837, on the death of William the Fourth, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, succeeded to the throne of Hanover, and became an independent sovereign, and a member of the German confederation: that he has been king of Hanover since 1837, and has received annually during that period the sum of £21,000 sterling from the taxes of the United Kingdom: that the payment of a pension to an independent foreign sovereign from the taxes of the United Kingdom is a waste of public money, and unjust to the people of England; and therefore, in the opinion of this House, the pension of £21,000, having been granted by Parliament to Ernest Augustus for his maintenance whilst Duke of Cumberland, ought to be discontinued whilst he continues King of Hanover."—(Mr Hume)—instead thereof. Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question;" the House divided; ayes 197, noes 91. Main question put and agreed to.

DEBATES.

Thursday, June 29th.

ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.

The House at an early hour went into committee on this bill, commencing with the seventh clause, to

* Leech and Turner, the latter the printer of this address, were immediately arrested. Leech had to undergo his trial with other prisoners at the March assizes. Turner was tried and liberated with a nominal punishment.

which there were several amendments. The first division took place on a proviso, that pending the granting of a license the arms shall be deposited with the police, or some licensed person. This was proposed to be omitted by Mr Wyse, who moved accordingly, but his amendment was rejected.

The eighth clause, technically termed the "branding clause," raised a long discussion.

Lord CLEMENTS hoped that every member, especially every Irish member, who should vote for this clause, would be a marked man in his own country, and held up to disgrace there.

Mr M. J. O'CONNELL protested against that proviso in the branding clause which would authorise a different mark for the arms of gentlemen from that which would be applicable to the arms of the poorer classes. Lord ELIOT explained, that the proviso was not to authorise different marks for different classes, but only to authorise those who chose to pay the expense to have the same mark affixed by their own armourers. Lord JOCELYN and Colonel CONOLY wished for no distinction between the arms of the rich and of the poor. After further objections to the proviso from other parties, Lord ELIOT said that as this portion of the clause was disapproved of on both sides of the house, he would consent to withdraw it.

The clause having been gone through line by line, the general question, whether, as amended, it should stand part of the bill, was opened by

Lord J. RUSSELL, who objected to it, first, as unjustifyable, except under a necessity which had not been shown, and next, as peculiarly inexpedient in the present state of Ireland. The chiefs of the Irish police might think such a measure desirable; but he did not set a much higher value on that sort of authority than he would on the suggestion of a gamekeeper to make the game laws more effectual by giving an authority to gamekeepers to enter houses and search for game. This mark would not prevent offences; it would evince only that, in the commission of them, arms had been used which had come from a particular house. There had been no proof of such an increase of crime as to justify this strong measure, and in the absence of such a proof it would better have become the government, at a time like this, to avoid anything beyond a mere renewal of the former bill. The existing powers of the constitution were sufficient, and the attempt to add new ones was only to irritate.

Lord ELIOT had not expected to hear from Lord J. Russell that even the old Arms act was consistent with the principles of the constitution; he had himself always deemed it an exception from them; and if there was to be an exception at all, he wished to have it such as in the practical opinion of the police was likely to effect its object. He then cited some opinions of the police in recommendation of this provision. It was a necessary one for the safety of life and property; and as to the stigma, the best answer was in the willingness which so many of the most high-minded gentlemen in Ireland had shown to undergo it.

After a few words from Lord CLEMENTS, Sir R. FERGUSON, Mr WALLACE, and Sir D. ROCHE,

Sir T. WILDE said he apprehended much evil from the irritation to which this measure would tend. Any disaffected person possessing a weapon would have only to hold it up to his neighbours in order to give them evidence of their degradation. The clause was not confined to fire arms: it extended to everything that might be used as a pike, to a bill hook, or perhaps to a common spit. The bill might be temporary, but the brand would be permanent. To warrant this enactment some evidence should have been adduced of mischief caused by the want of brand under the former state of the law.

Mr SMITH (the attorney-general for Ireland) said Sir T. Wilde seemed to have forgotten that he had been a law-officer of the Crown in 1841, when the last bill passed, containing the very same discretion to magistrates which he now condemned. Notice had been given of an amendment in the wording of this bill which would prevent the application of it to such instruments as had been mentioned by Sir T. Wilde.

Sir A. BROOKE supported the clause, and could not conceive how members, themselves living safely in England, could refuse what was necessary to the security of families resident in Ireland. It was generally desired by all peaceable people there.

Mr M. J. O'CONNELL rejoiced in the abandonment of the proviso, which would have established a difference between the poor and the rich. After that abandonment, he suspected that the bill would speedily lose its popularity with its present supporters, and then it would probably be allowed to cease.

After some further discussion the clause was carried by 178 to 104.

The construction of the ninth clause raised a lively discussion. It professes to regulate the mode in which persons, not keeping arms at the time of passing the act, but who may afterwards wish to do so, may apply for a license twenty-one days before the next sessions. Sir Robert Ferguson moved an amendment; and as the Attorney-general for Ireland did not seem clear on the subject, and Sir James Graham proposed to remedy the clause by a proviso, the effect of which was not understood, several other amendments were proposed, to postpone the clause, and also that the Chairman report progress. Sir James Graham, in somewhat taunting terms, refused to postpone the clause. Lord John Russell declared his intention of supporting the postponement of the clause, on account of the unsatisfactory conduct of the government. Sir Robert Peel said that if the course were pursued of debating every clause on the merits, it would be fatal, not merely to this bill, but to all legislation whatever. Lord Palmerston, Mr Watson, and other members, exposed the absurdity

of pressing a clause, the meaning of which was doubtful to the government itself. Lord Eliot made some explanations, but Mr More O'Ferrall remarked, that with nine lawyers, two secretaries of state, and an hour and a half's discussion, they were more distant than ever from understanding the clause, which was a very sufficient reason for postponement. A division took place on the question of reporting progress, which was rejected by 252 to 92.

The point, however, was gained; and after about eight hours had been spent in carrying two clauses, and debating another, the house resumed.

Friday, June 30th.

NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

Mr GISBORNE brought the subject of the petitions respecting Nottingham electioneering forward, and moved for a committee to inquire into their allegations. In support of his motion, he reviewed the proceedings at the two or three last Nottingham elections, and which have given that borough a somewhat unenviable notoriety. The statements largely implicated the Earl of Lincoln (son of the Duke of Newcastle), whose conduct in these transactions could not, Mr Gisborne affirmed, be consistent with that of a high-minded man. Certainly, the details of the bribery, corruption, and other practices, resorted to at these elections, though unfortunately not new, were as deplorable as they were disgusting, and presented a *prima facie* case for inquiry.

The Earl of LINCOLN entered on a defence of his conduct; but the interest felt by the House in the subject was evinced by the fact that there were about twenty members present on the ministerial side, and about twenty-five on the opposition benches. The details of his defence were purely of a personal and local nature. The most material part of his speech was his assertion that corruption had taken such a hold of Nottingham that nothing but disfranchisement would cure it, or else some arrangement that would quietly divide the representation between the two contending parties. He concluded his speech by an amendment, the object of which, he said, was to make the inquiry more extensive; and would include an investigation into the transactions connected with the late election at Nottingham, and the proceedings consequent on the petition against the return.

Mr CHARLES WOOD, as chairman of the election committee which declared Mr Gisborne's return valid, made a few observations. It had been alleged that the witnesses, whose "breaking down" before the committee had caused the abandonment of the case, had committed perjury. Such was not the opinion of the committee, who gave these witnesses perfect credence when they stated that they had been hired to give false testimony.

Sir ROBERT PEEL did not oppose the present inquiry, seeing the parties interested had assented to it; but thought that the precedent was a dangerous one. It might prove not only inconvenient, but harassing, that after the return of a member has been decided upon by an election committee, he should still be exposed, on the petition of a disappointed party, to another and indefinite inquiry.

After a few words from Mr WALLACE,

Mr FRANCIS BARING proposed an amendment, which would limit the inquiry to whether or not the witnesses who appeared before the last election committee had been tampered with, either to falsify or withhold their testimony.

Mr GISBORNE and Lord LINCOLN both professed their willingness to give way in favour of this proposition; but Lord LINCOLN asked a postponement of the debate until Monday, in order to consider it.

Sir ROBERT PEEL could not agree to this. He saw no ground for the original motion, and did not think that the House ought to grant inquiries in order to gratify private individuals.

After a short pause, the original motion and the amendments were all withdrawn, and thus the whole affair went off.

THE KING OF HANOVER'S PENSION.

Mr HUME proposed the following resolution:

"That it appears that Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, received for many years, under the sanction of acts of the British parliament, a pension of £1,000/- sterling from the British Exchequer, for his maintenance and support as a prince of the royal family of England; that, in the year 1837, on the death of William the Fourth, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, succeeded to the throne of Hanover, and became an independent sovereign, and a member of the German confederation; that he has been King of Hanover since 1837, and has received annually since that period the sum of £1,000/- sterling from the taxes of the United Kingdom; that the payment of a pension to an independent foreign sovereign from the taxes of the United Kingdom is a waste of public money, and unjust to the people of England; and, therefore, in the opinion of this House, the pension of £1,000/- having been granted by parliament to Ernest Augustus for his maintenance whilst Duke of Cumberland, ought to be discontinued whilst he continues King of Hanover."

No one would be more opposed than himself to any breach of public faith; but no such breach would follow from the step he now proposed. He referred to the acts of parliament on which the pensions of the royal dukes depend; and he argued, from the language of the enactments, that the provision was originally intended to cease in any case where it was no longer wanted for the maintenance of its object, as a member of the English royal family.

On the occasion of the late grant to the Princess Augusta of Cambridge, the popular character of her father was insisted on; he would now, on the ground of unpopularity, withhold the public money from the Duke of Cumberland. But his main objection was, that the Duke was now an independent sovereign. Besides, they should not pay from the Exchequer money to any sovereign, because it might enable him to act contrary to the wishes of the people over whom he was placed; and one of the great principles of sovereignty should be to make the sovereign as much as possible dependent upon the will of the people ["oh, oh," from the ministerial side]. He

wished that he could say that that course had always been acted upon [oh, oh]; and he wished, too, that he could say that the money which the King of Hanover had received had been well employed [oh, oh]. He believed the reverse had been the case. However, as he might be mistaken, he would say nothing more on that point. But this he would say, that he did think that it was improper that this country should pay money to a sovereign, who, by his connexion with the German confederation, might become engaged in war, and aid any enemy we might have upon the Continent. He had received a paper from several working men, showing that this money would maintain 1,050 families, and that the exportation of it was the withdrawal of so much from the capital which should circulate British labour. The King of Belgium had voluntarily given up the enjoyment of his pension; the King of Hanover ought to be in no better situation. Most censurable had been the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland in 1835 with respect to Orange lodges, which he, a field marshal of England, had continued to encourage among the troops, in disobedience to the orders from the Horse Guards. He ought to have been brought to a court martial for that. The orangemen took a secret oath—an illegal thing, for which poor men, seeking only a rise of wages, had been tried and punished.

Mr WILLIAMS seconded the amendment, affirming that if the House of Commons fairly represented the people, it would not dare to continue this annuity.

Sir ROBERT PEEL, considering that the House of Commons had pronounced a decisive opinion on Orange lodges, which had been obeyed by the Duke of Cumberland, did not think it fair that Mr Hume should revive a by-gone transaction. The annuity enjoyed by the King of Hanover was guaranteed for the life of the Duke of Cumberland; and parliament in granting it had a right to anticipate the contingency that he would become King of Hanover. It might have been an oversight that no provision had been made for this contingency; but seeing it had not been done, they had no right to violate public faith, and deprive the King of Hanover of an annuity granted without condition or exception, and the deprivation of which would be derogatory to the honour of the country.

Lord WORSLEY admitted that it would be a violation of good faith to deprive the King of Hanover of his annuity. But it ought to be known that the feeling of the country was in favour of his imitating the examples of the King of Belgium, and the late Earl Camden.

Colonel VERNER said a few words in vindication of the Duke of Cumberland, as grand master of the Orange lodges.

Mr WALLACE reminded the House that the Duke of Cumberland had refused to be examined before the committee of the House of Commons on Orange lodges; and said that the defence of him, as having signed blank warrants, only made the matter worse; the man who would sign a blank warrant would sign anything. He believed that, with the exception of the nobility, the people of this country, while they hailed the visits of the King of Belgium, detested those of the King of Hanover.

Mr FERRAND, with a stentorian voice, shouted, that as a free-born Englishman he was not ashamed to say he honoured and respected the King of Hanover. Mr Hume, who had brought this motion forward, had been aided in originally attempting to gain a seat in the house of Commons by the Duke of Cumberland.

Who was the member that brought forward this charge against him? A member of that house who first obtained his seat within its walls under the influence and patronage of the King of Hanover, and who afterwards applied to him to use his royal influence that he might obtain a seat for the borough of Weymouth [cheers]. He (Mr Ferrand) would not impute motives within those walls, but he left the honourable member to his own conscience, if he had one [laughter].

The King of Hanover was a genuine Englishman, and the working classes did not begrudge him his pension. These classes had been sinking since the reform mania of 1830, and nothing would restore them to their condition under the good old tory times but a return to tory principles.

Mr CHARLES BULLER stated the true ground on which these grants to the younger branches of the royal family are made. They are not given unconditionally; the Sovereign, having surrendered the hereditary revenues of the Crown, the nation felt it to be due to its own character and dignity that the younger branches of the royal family should be suitably provided for—it stood, in fact, to them, in *loco parentis*. The preamble of the acts by which these grants are sanctioned, expressly states the reasons on which they are bestowed. But in the case of the King of Hanover, a change had occurred not originally contemplated; he had become an independent sovereign, and though the grant should not be withdrawn on light grounds, still, as he had gone to the utmost limits of the law, they were justified in treating him similarly. What had been the conduct of the King of Hanover?

He wished to say nothing harsh of the King of Hanover, but he understood that that sovereign had exercised to the utmost possible extent all the rights he derived as King of Hanover. Every particle of jewelry and plate, every sum of money he could possibly claim by right of succession to that throne, he had claimed [hear, hear, from the ministerial side]. Then, he said, let them, too, hold by the strict letter of the law; the grant was given by act of parliament for a particular purpose, and should cease when that purpose was fulfilled [hear].

Let them beware of abusing the patience of the people of this country; they bore the necessary expense of royalty, but would not endure profligate expenditure.

Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS cited the example of the King of Bavaria towards his son, Otho, of Greece, as an example and reason why the annuity of the King of Hanover should not be withdrawn.

After a few words from Captain BERKELEY, the House divided, when there appeared—	
For Mr Hume's resolution	91
Against it	197

Majority 106

Monday, July 3rd.

The committee on the Irish Arms bill was resumed. Before the House went into committee

Lord CLEMENT vindicated his motives in resisting the progress of the bill. It was a penal measure, and every hour, nay, every minute, in obstructing its passage, was so much additional liberty to Ireland.

The House then went into committee, beginning with the ninth clause, which had been postponed on Thursday night last, on account of the ambiguity of its phraseology. The government now proposed what was practically a new clause, as the phraseology was entirely reconstructed. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Mr MORE O'FERRALL, and Mr PIERS dwelt on the fact that, notwithstanding the anger which had been manifested on the part of the government and its supporters, on Thursday night, they had now substantially admitted that they had been in the wrong, and practically confessed that the bill was clumsily constructed, thereby justifying the pertinacious opposition which had been given to it. Mr ROBBUCK objected that according to the forms of the House, the clause must be postponed to the end of the bill, as it was substantially a new one. The CHAIRMAN decided that it was not substantially a new clause, but an amendment of the existing one. Mr ROBBUCK told him that this was a point not for the decision of the Chairman, but of the committee. Lord JOHN RUSSELL said it was a matter of convenience, on which strict rule need not be scrupulously adhered to. After considerable discussion, there was a division, when the clause was carried by 128 to 69. The 10th clause was agreed to; but the 11th clause provoked a long discussion, with several divisions. Mr M. J. O'CONNELL, Sir D. NORRIS, and other members, assailed the Attorney-general for Ireland, who seemed incapable of understanding, or of explaining the meaning of a bill, for which, on the part of the government, he was responsible. At last, after a tough struggle through every sentence, and the introduction of several amendments, the 11th clause was ordered to "stand part of the bill."

The 12th clause, which enacts the penalty for keeping arms without license, after an amendment, to which the government acceded, was carried.

Here the further progress of the bill was suspended; and after disposing of some other business, the House adjourned.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE FACTORIES BILL.—On Friday evening Mr Hawes asked Sir James Graham whether or not, in the clauses relating to education still standing in the bill, there was any new matter; and whether they extended beyond that of giving to the privy council a power of appointment of inspectors. Sir James Graham believed that, as the law existed, and as he proposed it to stand, it would be very much the same. At the present time, those who were subjected to the compulsory law were persons between the ages of nine and thirteen. It was proposed to reduce the age from nine to eight. At present children were liable to work in factories for eight hours, and to be educated at any period during the twenty-four hours. It was now proposed that the children should only work six hours and a half each day; and that they should not work both in the forenoon and the afternoon, but that the six hours and a half should either be in the forenoon or in the afternoon, and that in five days out of seven they should be educated for three hours either in the forenoon or in the afternoon. By the present law no notice was taken as to the place where the education was given, or as to the system of instruction that was adopted. Now, it was proposed by the present bill that the privy council should have the power to appoint inspectors to visit all the schools to which certificates were granted; and, on receiving a report from the inspectors as to the inconvenience of the place, or as to any objection in the method of education pursued, the privy council were empowered to notify to the schoolmaster the defect so reported; and unless within three months that defect should be remedied, the privy council would have the power of stopping the grant made to the school. He believed he had now stated exactly the extent of the alterations proposed, without omitting anything of the least importance.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 29.

The passing of the Scotch Church bill through committee was a portion of the business set down; and in anticipation that on its being moved the threatened onslaught of Lord Brougham on the Earl of Aberdeen would take place, there was a considerable gathering both of peers and strangers. But the noble and learned lord (who was evidently suffering from indisposition) was soothed by the assurance of the Earl of Aberdeen that he had intended him no disrespect by bringing on the discussion on Monday night during his absence; in proof of which he postponed the further consideration of the bill until Lord Brougham is able to take part in the debate, and vindicate his Auchterarder judgment.

SIR T. M. WILSON'S ESTATE BILL.—The bill for the destruction of Hampstead Heath, most aptly described by Lord Brougham (on presenting the petition of the leaseholders and others at Hampstead against it) as "a bill to set aside a hill," was withdrawn for the present session, by the Earl of Egremont, who, in doing so, shortly vindicated the motives of its promoter.

Friday, June 30.

A short conversation arose out of a message from

the Commons, requesting that their lordships would permit the Duke of Wellington to attend and give evidence before the committee on shipwrecks, which was granted. Lord BROUHAM complained of not being permitted to revise the evidence he had given before the committee. The Earl of DEVON mentioned that a proof of his evidence had been sent to him, under the idea that it would be more convenient to him to have the matter in that shape, than in manuscript. Lord BROUHAM admitted that this had been done, but he did not think that it had been done to enable him to amend his evidence.

The Earl of ABERDEEN moved the second reading of the Apprehension of Offenders bill, the object of which is to give the sanction of this country to an international system of surrendering offenders, to be established between this country and America. Lords BROUHAM and CAMPBELL made some observations on the bill, which was read a second time, and the House shortly afterwards adjourned.

Monday, July 3.

The House went into committee on the Scotch Church bill, and

Lord CAMPBELL moved an amendment, for the purpose of limiting objections to ministers to spiritual or physical allegations of defect.

The Earl of ABERDEEN opposed the amendment, and then

Lord BROUHAM made his promised statement. He hoped that for the sake of the bar, the law, and the administration of justice in this country, they would listen to his reasons for opposing the bill, both in form and substance. The judgment delivered by himself and Lord Cottenham, in the Auchterarder case, was impugned by this bill, and he felt that he would be unworthy of the position which he held if he did not defend the reasons on which that judgment was founded. As a declaratory bill, its practical effect would be to make the judgment good, but the reasons on which it was founded worthless—a position at once insulting to the judges, and the most dangerous in its consequences that could possibly be conceived. The bill might give a triumph to the Scotch judges, and even aid the court of Session in rescinding the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords; but at least one evil consequence was likely to happen—the judges, in delivering their judgments on appeal cases, would refrain from giving the reasons on which they proceeded, if they found that they were exposed to declaratory acts, which set their law aside as bad. In fact, a clause ought to be inserted in this bill permitting the Auchterarder case to be re-heard. There was little probability that the bill would pass the House of Commons, but he was anxious that the House of Lords should pursue the right course, and not leave it to the lower House to correct its errors. If the church was to be endowed with a power so enormous as this bill proposed to confer, it ought to be given by enactment, and not by a declaratory law.

The LORD CHANCELLOR felt the importance of maintaining the judgments of the House of Lords unimpeached. The bill, however, was not at variance with the decision in the Auchterarder case—a judgment in the reasons of which he entirely concurred.

Lord COTTENHAM opposed, and the Earl of GALLOWAY and the Earl of HADDINGTON supported the bill.

Lord DENMAN strongly deprecated the course which a majority of the House seemed disposed to pursue with respect to this bill. The reasons on which the Auchterarder judgment proceeded were the lights by which future decisions might be guided; and yet, because it suited some persons to say that these reasons were wrong, they were hurrying a declaratory bill through the house, the effect of which would undoubtedly be to diminish the weight and authority of the law.

The Earl of ABERDEEN earnestly affirmed that if the bill were not passed it would be the cause of the dis-establishment of the church of Scotland. There was nothing of which he was more convinced than the imperative necessity of this measure, which had been substantially before the public for three years, inasmuch as it was similar to his former bill.

Lord CAMPBELL, in reply, re-affirmed that the passing of this bill was a virtual reversal of the Auchterarder judgment.

On a division, the amendment was rejected by 42 to 12.

Another discussion took place, on an amendment, proposed by Lord BROUHAM, to convert the bill from a declaratory into an enacting measure, which was rejected by 38 to 10.

After some remarks from the Earl of MINTO, the Chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

The monthly meeting of the Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union was held at the Office, 37, Waterloo street, Birmingham, on Monday last, the President in the chair.

After transacting some routine business, the following letter from Wm Morgan, Esq., was read:

"To the Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union.

"GENTLEMEN—I have this day had the pleasure of submitting for your approval the first annual report of your proceedings. No one reading that document can fail to perceive that an immense amount of business has been undertaken by your body. The office of secretary has been attended with its full share of labour, and you will allow me to assure you that, sustained as I have been by the unwearied exertions of nearly every member of the executive committee, it has been to me a source of great pleasure to discharge the duties of that appointment. I have, however, for some time felt that other pressing de-

mands upon my attention have operated to the injury of the cause in which we are engaged, and after mature reflection, have decided to resign my office. Probably I should not take this step at the present time, were it not from conviction that the gentleman who has been already spoken of as my successor, will receive your unanimous support, will bring to the office greater talent and energy than I have been able to command, and will devote the whole of his time to the business of the Union.

"Having these expectations, I cannot refrain from congratulating you that the change in your secretary will no doubt impart increased vigour to your operations, and strengthen and establish that movement which, as an individual member of the council, I shall continue to watch over with the deepest interest, and aid by every exertion in my power.

"I am, dear sirs, yours faithfully,

"May 8th, 1843. WILLIAM MORGAN."

It was then moved by T. D. Rowlinson, Esq., seconded by Charles Pumphrey, Esq., and unanimously resolved—

"That this Council in receiving the resignation of their friend Wm Morgan as secretary, express their deep sense of the zeal and ability with which he has uniformly discharged the onerous and laborious duties of the office; and, in tendering him their sincere thanks, they assure him that they should deeply regret his withdrawal from the office, for any successor, however competent, but for the gratification of knowing that they shall still have his active co-operation as a member of the Council."

It was then resolved—

"That in conformity with the recommendations of the sub-committee, Mr J. H. Wilson be, and hereby is, appointed secretary to this Union."

Several letters were read from different parties giving encouraging accounts of the progress of the cause.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE SOIREE AT NORTHAMPTON.

On Wednesday evening last, a tea party and public meeting, to commemorate and advance the principles of complete suffrage, took place in the town of Northampton. About 500 persons partook of an excellent tea, and after the removal of the cloth, about 500 more were admitted. On the platform were the Revds R. Tunley, C. T. Crate, George Ashmead, T. White, G. Ashford, N. Hawkes, J. Warner, J. Aldis, R. T. Lord, and J. Phillips; J. Grundy, J. Gee, E. Latchmore, J. Aspray, F. Parker, and J. Williamson, Esqs.; Counsellors Derby and Marshall; and many ladies and gentlemen of high respectability. Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., Joseph Sturge, the Rev. W. Robinson of Kettering, and Mr Henry Vincent, had been previously announced by hand-bills to address the meeting. Messrs Crawford and Vincent were unavoidably absent—the announcement of which occasioned much regret.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., was unanimously voted to the chair. He commenced his address by apologising for the absence of Mr Sharman Crawford. The present meeting, he said, was one on behalf of complete suffrage, which meant that every man of twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and not under sentence for violation of the law, should possess the elective franchise. The suffragists, it would be seen, went further than the people's charter; they did not exclude from the franchise those who, having offended against the laws of their country, had undergone the punishment awarded to them [hear]. He had been often surprised that those who professed the great Christian maxim, "Do unto others as you would others should do unto you," could deny to their poorer brethren their fair share of civil advantages [cheers]. The fears of those who hesitated to concede political power to the multitude might be dispelled, for the rich could always command political influence, and any exception in the franchise should be made rather in favour of the poor than the wealthy [cheers]. Mr Sturge then, at considerable length, alluded to the progress of the complete suffrage question, and passing events in connexion with it, and sat down amidst loud cheers.

The CHAIRMAN tendered an apology from T. S. Duncombe, Esq., who would have attended the meeting, but for the pressing nature of his parliamentary duties.

The Rev. Mr ROBINSON, of Kettering, hoped they were deeply in earnest, and that the proceedings of the evening would be highly profitable. On the part of the complete suffragists of the town from which he came, he tendered Mr Sturge their hearty thanks for the part he had taken in the movement. He warmly approved the principle of complete suffrage, and stood on the platform, not merely as a citizen, but as a Christian. They (the suffragists) sought justice, and repudiated all violence; and they should pursue their course with earnest perseverance, abhorring all malice and scandal [hear]. All kinds of monopolies were upheld by the chief monopoly of political power. The people now cared nothing between Peel and Russell; the cause was that of the people against the oligarchy. The contest would be a severe one, but the truth must prevail [cheers]. Lord John Russell and his associates were in reality tories, and the suffragists the true whigs. The professors of whig principles acknowledged the sentiment, that the people were the legitimate source of all power. And why did they deny to them the exercise of that power [hear]? When whig candidates solicited the votes of the electoral body, they should be severely tested upon this mark of their inconsistency. It was not known how soon they might be called upon for exertion. The present ministry had excited the hatred and disgust of all parties, and could not long remain in power. The Complete Suffrage Union should be early on the alert. A crisis was at hand—let not the oligarchy convert it into a crash. There was a point beyond which it was dangerous to insult the feelings of Englishmen, and undoubtedly great and serious changes were at hand [cheers].

Mr R. K. PHILP said, Englishmen had long boasted of their liberties, and had been too little inclined to investigate the character of prevailing

political institutions. Now, however, it was discovered, that the so-called representation of the people under the prevailing system was but a mockery, and that the House of Commons was in reality a little House of Lords, aiding in the oppression of the people [hear]. The recent investigations into the conduct of certain elections proved that there existed no representation for the masses; and that the interests of the many were wielded by a mean crew of corruptfactionists, who sold the liberties of the nation. If there were an elector present, and there stood a non-elector by his side, let him look that man honestly in the face, and proclaim in the hearing of that assembly what right he possessed to the franchise which the other did not [hear]. He, however, blamed the people for all their wrongs. They had the power, if they possessed the will, to free themselves from tyrannical dominion. Their enemies were a paltry handful compared to the mass, and a general organisation of the people could effect all its desires. Immediate action, and not mere profession, was needed. Whiggery had decayed; it had but a little remnant—and all who had seen it knew that it was a little remnant—in the house of Commons—that was Lord John Russell, as every act of his, every vote he recorded, tended only to bring him and his defunct party into deeper disgrace. The honest electors must combine to return honest men, or the tories would, after another election, be reinstated; for the people utterly abhorred the deception of whiggery. A line of action must be marked out and rigidly pursued, the first step to which was to join and uphold the Complete Suffrage Union.

Mr BEGGS of Nottingham, tendered an apology for the absence of Mr H. Vincent, whom he had just parted from in the metropolis, and whose many engagements pressed heavily upon him. He cordially concurred in the remarks of the last speaker, which called upon the electors to arouse for action, and to elect only men honestly espousing complete suffrage principles. He was deeply sensible of the important duties at present devolving upon the people. Toryism had much disgusted the masses; its coercive measures with Ireland, and trifling with the remonstrances of the people, had awakened great detestation in the public mind. But he discovered no reaction in favour of whiggism—the people could see no distinction between tories and whigs—the only difference between them was that of place [hear]. Mr Beggs then referred to the late elections, at which the principles of complete suffrage were so much advanced, and proceeded to refer to the Factories bill, the state church, and the ignorance of the people. On the latter topic he remarked—

Who were to blame for the ignorance and vices of the people? They but reflected the imperfect morality of the classes above them. The aristocracy were known to be ignorant of many great and vital questions. All great principles had emanated from among the mass, and worked their way upwards—even from the foundation of Christianity. That which had laid empires in ruins was now at work amongst ourselves. Was it the depravity of the people? It was the despotism, ignorance, and vice of the aristocracy [cheers]. He would defy the production of an instance where the people, under good government, had rebelled. They were told of France and the revolution which had stained its history. He certainly abhorred the bloodshed by which it was characterised. Indeed, he would not purchase the freedom of the world at the sacrifice of one human life. The cause was too holy to be sullied, and would, by proper direction, be too successful to require such a sacrifice. But, who were the instigators of the French revolution? They were those who drove the people to madness by outrage and wrong [cheers]. At the present time there existed an overgrown aristocracy, and a people sunk down in the depths of wretchedness. It was an insult to say that the concession of the people's claims would endanger property. It was not the business, however, of the government to protect property, unless it also protected labour [hear]. In this country they all might behold the great benevolence of God—enough was sent from his hand for all; but the corruption of class legislation seized hold of all natural advantages, and applied them to the most selfish purposes. God made no distinction. The sun lit the palace and the cottage alike, and the rains fell impartially [hear], but man interferes and tramples on his fellow man [cheers].

He believed that whenever the people became sober, moral, and intelligent, no government could keep them in subjection [hear]. Mr B., after eloquently remarking upon the errors of American slavery, and explaining the details of complete suffrage, concluded amid loud cheering.

The Rev. Mr ALDIS said, he had six years ago avowed himself a chartist, in a conference of ministers, where he found no sympathy for his declaration [hear]. He must avow these principles, or violate his conscience and sacrifice his honour. He did not expect universal suffrage to bring the millennium; the morality and intelligence of a nation could alone lift us to supremacy [cheers]. He knew not what would be the result of universal suffrage, nor did he care. To do justice, love righteousness, and walk humbly before God, would surely secure his divine favour and protection. Who has the right to say the people were unfit to take care of themselves, and would take upon them their management? Where was their charter that gave them the privilege so to do [hear]? Man held in his person the charter which entitled him to live freely, and without a counter charter none had a right to assume authority over him [cheers]. He seldom looked into the reports of parliament—had long ago been disgusted with their proceedings; there was no righteousness, nor love, nor mercy, among them when the misery of the people was proclaimed. He would say, onward in the cause of truth, and it will prevail [loud cheers].

The Rev. GEORGE ASHMEAD said, no class of persons would ever have much done for it but what it did for itself [cheers]. They had only to go into the manufacturing districts to see many of the most virtuous and pious of the population in the deepest want. And how did the aristocracy sympathise with them? By erecting churches, workhouses, and gaols [cheers]. But there was a power mightier than the Crown, the Peers, or the Commons, or the disciplined British army, and this power would aid those who resolved to aid themselves. The people were now vastly before the government, and far

better acquainted with their own interests than the House of Commons. The arguments in favour of complete suffrage were so simple and conclusive that they could only be resisted by the prejudiced. The cause, however, must ultimately triumph [cheers].

Thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the meeting separated at a late hour, highly gratified and instructed by the evening's proceedings.

An esteemed correspondent has sent us the following interesting narrative of the soirée, and a public meeting which took place the following day. Both appear to have been unequalled in the history of Northampton:—

"Our plan was to erect a spacious tent, prepared by the Messrs Letchmore for a great wool fair. We engaged it, and the frame of wood work was put up on Tuesday; and on Wednesday morning, at day dawn, our warm-hearted men were on the ground; and canvas, and laurel boughs, and white flags, soon gave token of completeness. Carpenters and tables, forms and platforms, soon appeared; zealous and right-minded men were there, and up rose a pavilion at once commodious and substantial. Parties from the villages and towns all around came tumbling in. Tickets for tea were in demand, and upwards of three hundred were served with assiduity and order. Tickets were now sold for the evening meeting, about which a most intense interest was excited. Soon Joseph Sturge appeared; he came, and hearts, true as the lunar orb, but warm as the summer sun, greeted his coming. Mr Beggs, of Nottingham, too, a man of much thought, and more activity, with that good man, the Rev. W. Robinson, from Kettering, together with the Revs J. Aldis, from Maze pond, London, T. Lord of Woolaston, Mr Philp of Banbury, P. Ashmead of Kingsthorpe, T. Phillips of Earl's Burton, and R. Tunley and T. White of Northampton. The preliminaries were finished, and J. Sturge, Esq., took the chair, told his effectual tale, exposed the rotten system, encouraged honest hearts, and proved just means would obtain good results. Mr Robinson, truly English, without clap-trap or nonsense, rose to tell them, he believed in pleasing them he should please himself, and so opened the system of oppression as to excite the highest and noblest of determination. Mr Beggs rose, and coolly, philosophically, but clearly demonstrated the evils of the present system, the fallacy of the many remedies, and assured the more than convinced audience, their remedy was their unity, and their union their power. Mr Ashmead, of Kingsthorpe, followed in a graphic and facetious strain, helping to confirm and deepen the impression made upon the multitude, which now had increased wondrously, owing to restrictions being removed, and the public admitted freely. Mr Aldis, of Maze pond, rose to respond, "because he could not help it." Unpopular as was the doctrine, and fearfully alarming, having in the dark future scenes appalling, and raw head and bloody bones to come, yet he could do no other than advocate the charter and universal suffrage. All who asked for it were right; all who contended for it were right; and all who spoke for it were right; and all who opposed it were wrong. Mr Philp was sure such peaceful and wise determinations must succeed. Resisted they had been, but all the circumstances with which we were now agitated, told us we were drawing to a crisis—a change was coming in spite of those in power, and those out of power; and all things portended results beneficial to the masses of the people. In fact, it would have been impossible for us to have put any other construction upon the meeting than that it was a telling one upon the people, and one in which the people resolved upon the future. They there and then saw the gew-gaw and the tinsel stripped from the coats of office, and the glare and the shine dimmed by the light of truth. Action was determined on, and counsel was taken to meet again on the morrow. The morrow came, and a free meeting procured such an assembly as to astonish all. Another tea meeting of a private nature opened the scene, and at seven o'clock an assembly in common was again gathered. Upon the platform were many ministers of the gospel, and Friends (quakers), and other gentlemen. Thomas Grundy, Esq., took the chair, and opened the business by reading a letter from Mr W. S. Crawford, and making some remarks upon the sacredness of our cause. The Rev. T. Lord, of Woolaston, followed in a warm-hearted address, declaring he had not taken part in the great movement, but felt it now to be his duty to identify himself with it. Rev. R. Tunley followed in an efficient and animated strain, wisely declaring it to be his opinion, that the cause was that of God, because of right, and adding, he could leave the meeting and pray for it. Rev. T. White exposed the wickedness of both factions, and declared both to be sustained by blood and imposition. Mr Philp, of Banbury, was eloquent, and clearly denounced the long misrule and undue exercise of authority. Rev. Mr Ashmead, of Kingsthorpe, now came forward, and in his own peculiar way much interested and informed the meeting. Thus passed two great meetings—meetings the like, too, never seen in Northampton; no noise except a hearty cheer, and no bad feeling except a groan for oppressors.

"Shall we despair? No, never, we have raised the cry and the gathering will be mighty—our standard is unfurled, and under it thousands will range themselves; hope says, Go on; the oppression is great, and the cry of distress says, Go on. Our meeting was unanimous and peaceful; and the cry they raised was, Go on."

FINSBURY.—On Monday evening Mr Vincent delivered a lecture on complete suffrage at the British Institution, Cowper street. The large room, which holds upwards of 2,000 persons, was crowded on the occasion, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed throughout the meeting. Among the gentlemen present were Stafford Allen, Esq.; — Child, Esq.; Rev. J. Blanchard, of Cincinnati (U.S.); Rev. — Kellogg (U.S.); Rev. Dr Campbell, and various friends of the cause connected with the borough. A considerable number of ladies were present. Mr Braden, of Islington, was called to the chair, and briefly introduced Henry Vincent, who was received with deafening cheers. He then proceeded at great length to explain the principles of universal suffrage, pointed out its peculiar adaptation to society, and its fitness to increase the happiness and promote the mental, moral, and physical condition of the human race. He then compared it with a suffrage having property for a basis, and the fatal effects

(more especially household suffrage) which the latter invariably produced upon man's independence, and the unfair and pernicious superiority it conferred upon the agricultural labourer, who was least likely to use it properly, over the intelligent mechanic and artizan. The subject was looked at in every point of view, objections answered, prejudices shown to be groundless, and the whole then brought to bear in a most masterly manner upon the convictions of his audience. Though the lecture lasted upwards of two hours, the spirit of the meeting did not flag; the line of argument being frequently intermixed with urgent and eloquent appeals, or strokes of humour and severe satire. Mr V. concluded with an urgent appeal to the friends of the cause to maintain their principles on all occasions, and to bring them especially to bear in every case of a parliamentary election. At the conclusion three hearty and enthusiastic cheers were given to Mr Vincent, and a vote of thanks moved by the Rev. J. Blanchard, who expressed his delight with the eloquence, and concurrence with the sentiments of the lecturer, and seconded by Mr Elt, was carried with acclamation. After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting separated. This meeting is another encouraging indication of the growth of the democratic principle in the public mind, and the increased interest that the question excites, even in business-absorbed London. At the close several names were given in as members of the Finsbury Complete Suffrage association.

MANCHESTER COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION.—The annual meeting of this union was held on Wednesday evening last, at the society's rooms, 4, Lever street. The chair was occupied by Mr M. Satterthwaite, M.D., who introduced the business of the evening, in a very pleasing and gentlemanly manner, to a large and influential body of the members. A letter was read from John Brooks, Esq., the president of the union, regretting that he could not occupy the chair, and also stating that "every month shows to men of reflecting minds that justice can never be accomplished in any other way." A report of the proceedings of the committee for the past year was then read and adopted, from which we make the following extract:—

"Twelve months ago the irritation felt, in consequence of the denial of commercial justice to the people, formed one of the main elements in the expressed demands for a re-organisation of a system of representation; and, as a natural consequence, much of the support then given to the question was not the offspring of calm and mature reflection. Now, however, men have had time to think. Excitement ushered in the question to the notice of the middle classes, and the justice of the cause has brought numbers of men to its support, who previously regarded it as wanting in expediency, if not in justice. Complete suffragism has formed a party among the represented; the Rubicon has been safely passed; and the enfranchisement of the masses is no longer a bugbear with a large portion of the electors."

A council was then chosen, consisting of a president, vice-president, honorary secretary, and co-members. We understand that about half the number are intelligent working men, selected from some of the principal manufacturing and mechanical establishments in this large and densely populated town. We hail this union of the middle and productive classes as a token for good. Various resolutions were then passed, one of them especially thanking our excellent and respected representative, T. M. Gibson, Esq., for the votes which he has recorded in parliament, in support of Mr Tarman Crawford's motion for complete suffrage. We also record another of the resolutions:—

"That the present alarming state of this empire, which is convulsed to its centre, from the effects of bad laws and bad government, calls loudly upon every right-thinking mind to adopt some remedy to counteract the wide-spreading evil. That in the opinion of this union the only panacea for the cure of this state disorder is the adoption of the principles of complete suffrage, or (as formerly called) a radical reform of parliament. This union, therefore, determines to use (legally and constitutionally) all its efforts and its influence, whether in parliamentary elections or otherwise, for the obtaining of those noble principles, by which justice will be administered to all, and the rights of man will be acknowledged and respected."

A resolution was also carried by acclamation, thanking the editors of the *Manchester Times*, *Sentinel*, and *Nonconformist*, for the very spirited and indefatigable manner in which they had, on all occasions, rendered service to the cause of complete suffrage. This is speaking out boldly, and we hope that when the time shall come for parliamentary or municipal elections, the council will be ready to carry out the resolve of the general meeting. A very interesting discussion took place on a motion of Mr E. Watkin, to the effect "that the proper sphere of government is the administration of justice, and that it ought not to interfere with the religion, education, or commerce of the people." An amendment was moved by Mr A. Heywood, and after a very warm and energetic debate, an adjournment was agreed to, till next Wednesday evening, at eight o'clock, when the debate will be resumed in the rooms of the union.—*Manchester Times.*

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR—A friend of mine has just put into my hands the last number but one of your excellent paper, dated the 17th of the present month, in order to direct my attention to an article headed "The Strike," in which the writer has made a most wanton and wicked attack upon my character, both public and private.

Your correspondent states that I was but a short time in Manchester previous to the strike, and that I left Liverpool for certain reasons: he evidently wishes it to be inferred that my certain reasons were very bad ones; but for his information I will tell what those reasons were, and why I removed to Manchester, where he says I was little known. Now the fact is, I was employed in Manchester a considerable time before I went to Liverpool, and returned to Manchester to resume my employment in the establishment which I left to go to Liverpool; so much for my being less known in Manchester than in Liverpool. "He had not been long in

Manchester at the time the disturbances arose." I was just seventeen months in the town before the occurrences arose, and although a general election and other exciting events occurred, I never attended any public meeting, with two exceptions, during that time. In consequence of very serious domestic calamities which befel me, all my time was occupied in providing for the wants of my wife and children in their illness. Two of these children are since dead; and what is rather remarkable, the very day on which I buried the last—the means to do which I only procured by selling and otherwise disposing of several articles which we could ill spare, having lost my employment in consequence of the strike—the *Bread-tax Circular* was put into my hand, and it was there stated that I was in the pay of the monopolists. Shame on them! but no matter, perhaps we may yet meet face to face. Your correspondent has his reason for the infamous statement which he has made—that I took a peculiar part. I have already stated why I kept aloof from public affairs; I will now state what caused me to interfere. I was with twenty others quietly at my employment, when we were on a sudden summoned to quit our work at once and attend a meeting. We did so. We were then informed that we were called upon by the five mechanical branches to assist them in their strike. We were further required to send a delegate to attend a meeting to be held that evening in Carpenter's hall. This was on Friday, the 12th of August. To my great surprise, I was unanimously elected as their delegate, although not at the time a member of their society. Accordingly, I attended the meeting in the hall at the time specified. When I reached the place of meeting I found a promising assemblage of delegates and others in the room. Every person who chose spoke. Various propositions of the most contradictory character were made. Seeing that no good could be done in an assembly so constituted, I at last moved that each trade should call a public meeting on the following day, namely, Saturday, the 13th of August, and there and then elect two delegates; that these delegates should bring with them credentials, duly signed by the chairman and secretary of their respective societies; and further, that the delegates should hold no written correspondence with their constituents from the time of their election till the business terminated. This was agreed to. I was re-elected with a colleague, Mr James Clark. We met, according to agreement, at the Sherwood, in Tile street, at eleven o'clock, on Monday, the 16th. I consented to act as secretary *pro tem.* The very first motion made in that assembly was made by me; it was for admitting the reporters of the public press. After a good deal of argument pro and con they were admitted.

Such was the first step taken by him whom your correspondent says was a spy. Do spies act thus? I can confidently appeal to all the gentlemen who attended for the press upon that occasion, whether I did not afford them every facility in my power, as secretary, of obtaining a knowledge of everything connected with the proceedings, during the short time I held that office; believing, as I did, that the more open our proceedings were, the more support we should obtain, and the less pretext would be afforded the authorities to interfere with our proceedings. This was always O'Connell's advice to the people, with reference to carrying on their affairs. Upon that advice I acted.

Charles Stewart was subsequently chosen secretary; after which, we adjourned to Carpenter's hall. We were scarcely assembled two hours, when our attention was called to an immense military force, which was then approaching the hall—dragoons first, then the grenadiers, with two companies of rifles, the rear brought up with a large body of special constables, besides police—in all about 2,500 men, the whole headed by anti-corn-law and whig magistrates. Then, I do confess, my indignation knew no bounds. I was aware their object was to intimidate us. Moreover, when I reflected that these very magistrates permitted their own paid lecturers to harangue thousands of people within a dozen yards of the place where we were then sitting—when language, a hundred times more inflammatory than any used by the delegates, was addressed to the multitude—only the week before. Bernard M'Cartney, myself, and two others, were at the time engaged in preparing an address to the trades. We returned to the meeting, and the address was for the time laid aside. I did then propose a resolution nearly in the words your correspondent states. But what was my object? Not, as he falsely states, to bring the delegates into collision with the authorities. No; but, by the fact of offering to act as special constables, to show these authorities that we were as anxious to preserve the peace as they were. He further adds—"And then gave information of delegates afterwards arrested." Now, this statement is known to the public—at least, to that portion who took the least interest in these affairs at the time, to be false. He artfully uses the word delegates; when, in fact, there was only one of the trades' delegates arrested—viz., Mr Hutchinson; and he was arrested—not afterwards; no, but while the delegates were sitting. And why was he arrested? Because he had the manliness to dispute the *dictum* of cotton lords, dressed out in a little brief authority. When was he arrested? The next morning, in his own house. What was he charged with? Why, with attending an illegal meeting. The Trades' Delegate meeting could not be proved to be an illegal meeting, by the utmost stretch of legal ingenuity. Every precaution was taken to guard against the least infringement of the Combination laws and the Corresponding act; and these arrangements were made at my suggestion.

Now for the proof. When Mr H. was brought to trial, the Crown officers made an offer, through his counsel, to him, that if he would consent to plead guilty, there the matter should end. For the sake of his family, he accepted the offer; but can there be a doubt that they would have prosecuted him, did they think they could succeed in making out a case against him? Certainly not.

Your correspondent further states that, "though he was known to have drawn up the documents called in a subsequent prosecution inflammatory, he was never arrested." From this any person would infer that I wished to conceal the part I acted. Now the reverse is the fact. I publicly avowed the part I took in conjunction with others, on that occasion. I stated it at a public meeting in the Carpenter's hall, on the 5th of September following—I avow it again now—I did assist in drawing up some of these documents in company with B. M'Cartney and others. Why, then, was I not arrested? I will tell your correspondent. For the same reason that they could not make out a case against Hutchinson—namely, there was nothing illegal on my part, or on the

part of any of the other trades' delegates, as trades' delegates. Even Lord Abinger declared that we had a right to meet and combine for an increase of wages, so long as we did not interfere with others, which we never did; on the contrary, the very first placard we issued condemned in the strongest manner possible the turning out of hands from the mills, and all other acts of violence or intimidation. For the proof of this assertion I refer to the *Manchester Guardian*, which gave the most accurate reports of the proceedings from day to day. Your correspondent, in speaking of these transactions, purposely uses the plural number—namely, delegates afterwards arrested. The inference he evidently wishes to be drawn from this is, that I caused them to be arrested. Really I cannot find words to express the horror and indignation which I felt on reading that passage.

Now, sir, the plain fact is, there were two delegate meetings held at one and the same time in Manchester; one, of the trades' delegates called together as I have already described, the other the meeting of chartist delegates, whose sittings were private, and I believe lasted only a few hours. This body issued the placard for which they were indicted afterwards.

And who, I ask your correspondent, were the informers against them? Was it William Duffey? Now, if he can blush, if he has one particle of moral honesty about him, let him ask God's pardon for the injury he has attempted to do me. I ask him again, Was it William Duffey who betrayed these men? He knows it was not. Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM DUFFEY.

[We insert this letter in justice to the writer. We have somewhat curtailed it, and expunged some strong expressions; but the writer's statement of facts we leave entire. We could have wished that the letter had been shorter.]

DISSENTING CONFERENCE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

I propose that the Committees of the Congregational and Baptist unions conjointly convene "a Conference of the Two Denominations of Congregational Churches in England and Wales for Civil Rights." To consist of three deputies from each church, one of whom to be in correspondence with the secretaries of the conference. In which event, those churches which are in remote places should not refrain from joining the conference and electing deputies, although they may not be able to attend the sessions of the conference.

June 19, 1843.

A. B.

Miscellaneous.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.—We learn from the *Tyne Mercury* that, on Saturday night, a destructive fire broke out at the timber yard of Mr R. Tood, Dean Bank, Newcastle, which utterly destroyed the whole building, with all the deals, battens, &c., which it contained. The house of Mr Pringle, near the warehouse, a clerk in the concern, also caught fire, and was burnt to the ground. On the east, the warehouse of Messrs Atkinson and Turner, soap and alkali manufacturers, also suffered from the conflagration; and on the west the fire extended to the houses in New Pandon street, several of which were destroyed. Numberless families were unhoused by the calamity, and, with their furniture, bivouacked on the open ground between the fire and the Newcastle and North Shields railway, where several soldiers of the 37th regiment were stationed for the preservation of property. Several fire engines were early brought into play, but the supply of water was not plentiful, and they produced comparatively little effect. Twelve dwelling houses, besides the raft yard, have been laid in ruins: and, as those houses were mostly occupied by the poorer classes, the number of families turned adrift, without a home, and with a great part of their property for ever lost, is great. If the houses are insured to near their value, we shall regret the loss of them little. They seem to have been ill-constructed; they were old, and in a bad position. But the situation of those families calls for every feeling of sympathy, and we hope that something will be done for relief. The value of all the property destroyed is estimated at from £10,000 to £20,000. It is, perhaps, nearer the latter than the former. The number of families deprived of homes is about sixty.

FATAL COLLIERY ACCIDENT.—LOSS OF NINE LIVES.—On Monday evening, the 26th ult., at one of the pits belonging to the Fenton Park company, situated at the back of the china manufactory of Messrs Green and Richards of Fenton, an explosion of firedamp occurred, which was attended with the loss of nine lives. The cause of the accident is ascribed to the imprudence of one of the sufferers, who shut to a door, which, when re-opened, caused such a rush of foul air towards the shaft of the pit, as ignited by the candles by which the men were lighting themselves. Two of the sufferers lost their lives by going to the assistance of those who fell victims to the explosion. An accident of so shocking a nature has not happened in the potteries for many years. The whole neighbourhood has a gloom cast over it by the circumstance.

A "TOWN TO LET."—A letter from Workington, from which we make the following extract, gives a melancholy picture of the state of trade in that town:—"The number of empty houses is immense. In the greatest thoroughfare, say Wilson-street, there are several shops and houses closed. The public-house in the _____, which you sold to Mr _____, has been unoccupied for more than 12 months; in fact the saying is correct of a town to let. Under these disheartening circumstances, it behoves those who have a trifle not to throw it away."—*Carlisle Journal*.

QUARTER SESSIONS.—At the Berkshire sessions this week a letter from Sir J. Graham was read, informing the court, that if they did not of themselves improve the dietary at the county gaol, according to his former instructions, he should interpose his authority. The magistrates, with much re-

luctance and complaint, succumbed. In Surrey, the court, resisting the Home Secretary's remonstrance, persist in condemning women and young boys to the tread-mill; so Sir James will have to interfere further with the gentlemen. Lastly, the squires of Cheshire can find no faults in the management of the notorious Knutsford gaol. Mr G. Wilbraham, who ventured to blame it, was almost hooted down. Such are the doings of the great unpaid.

CURIOS CASES OF LUNACY.—A commission of lunacy sat at Cambridge on Friday to inquire into the state of mind of Miss Mary Ann Bone, and Miss Sophia Bone her sister, both of St. Andrew's hill, spinsters. The following are the principal points of their strange history:—

The unfortunate ladies, it appeared, had been long known as the "Two Nuns of Cambridge," in consequence of the seclusion in which they lived, and most persons who have remained for any length of time in the town are acquainted with "the haunted house," as it was termed, on St. Andrew's hill, which for many years had been occupied by them. From the testimony of a number of witnesses it appeared that the unfortunate ladies laboured under some extraordinary delusion. The principal were that nine large posts which they had placed in the passage of their house were nine noblemen, who were exerting their influence to ruin them. That a young nobleman of the university was courting Mary Ann, but never spoke to her; and that there was a combination of Quakers, Jews, Scotchmen, dissenters, and Roman catholics, constantly annoying them by stationing boys as "underminers," under the flooring of the rooms, in the walls, and up the chimney, to watch them. They imagined they were so closely watched that they communicated with each other on a slate, and suffered no person but a woman who washed for them to enter the house. This woman used to be sent for twelve quatern and eight half quatern loaves at a time, and for joints of beef, mutton, and veal, all in the same day. Much of their victuals was spoiled, and what they did not eat they used to consume by fire. They fancied the bakers put plaster of Paris in the bread, and that clergymen of the Jewish persuasion were being introduced into the established church. They refused to let their houses, on the ground that, as they could not live in them, owing to the "underminers," they felt assured no other person could. Their own house was in a filthy and dilapidated state, and they declared there was a machine under the threshold which made a noise resembling that of a bottle-jack. Both ladies had a strong aversion to Roman catholics and to the word "cross" being mentioned in their hearing, and they talked in an extraordinary manner about catholicism. On one occasion Miss Mary Ann Bone instructed Mr Twiss, a solicitor, to bring an action against the Bishop of Durham, for a breach of promise of marriage, and upon Mr Twiss reminding her that she had never seen or spoken to the bishop, she replied she did not care a farthing, as she was sure he would be glad to compromise the matter for 20,000*l*. They had a carriage which was kept at the stables of an inn, but they never used it, as they had not left their house (with one exception) for years. The commissioner and jury, with great difficulty obtained admission to the house, when the conduct of the ladies induced them at once to return a verdict of unsound mind.

TO BOULOGNE AND BACK IN A DAY.—The spirited directors of the South Eastern Railway company have demonstrated that a man may breakfast in London, spend a few hours in France, and return to a fashionable dinner in the metropolis. On Saturday the 24th ult., a special train left London at six o'clock, and arrived at Folkestone, 82 miles off, in two hours and forty minutes. Here the passengers, including several important personages, amongst whom were Mr Divett, M.P., and Justice Haliburton (Sam Slick), embarked on board the Water Witch steamer, and at half-past twelve all were landed at Boulogne. A splendid repast was provided for the visitors, and their reception by our French neighbours was most enthusiastic. After staying two hours and ten minutes at Boulogne, the company again embarked, reached Folkstone at half-past six, where a train was waiting, which conveyed them to London by ten o'clock. The train stopped at thirteen stations on the way up and down to receive and discharge passengers.

PEACE CONVENTION; DEPUTATION TO SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.—A deputation consisting of the following gentlemen waited on Sir Robert Peel, Bart., by appointment, on Saturday, July 1st, to present to him an "Address to the governments of the civilised world," agreed to in the recent sittings of the Peace Convention in this metropolis: The Marquis de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, member of the French Chamber of Deputies; Lewis Tappan, Esq., of New York, a director of the American Peace Society; Monsieur Verre, of Brussels, secretary to the Brussels Peace Society; Monsieur de Lalung de Ferol; Samuel Gurney, Esq., treasurer of the London Peace Society; John Lee, Esq., LL.D., chairman of the committee; Henry T. J. Macnamara, Esq., of the Inner Temple; and the Rev. John Jeffeson, one of the secretaries of the London Peace Society. The deputation was introduced by John Bowring, Esq., LL.D., M.P., who briefly stated the object of the deputation, to present an address from the Peace Convention, urging the introduction of a clause in all international treaties, binding the parties to refer all disputes that may arise to the arbitration of one or more friendly powers. The address was read by the secretary, and very courteously received by the prime minister, who promised to place it before the other members of her Majesty's government, and stated that the principle of arbitration had been frequently and successfully acted upon during the last twenty years. Sir Robert also said, that immediately on the present difficulties arising between Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, the British and French governments put in strong remonstrances, and offered their friendly mediation. Mr Tappan called the attention of Sir Robert to the particular point of introducing a binding clause into treaties; and Mr Gurney spoke

of the importance of governments acting upon Christian principle.

POLITE LETTER WRITERS.—It seems that a gentleman, dating from Russell square, and named Thomas Mulock, was considerate enough the other day to write to the duke and Sir Robert Peel respecting the course of policy which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued towards Ireland. In writing to the premier, however, he "earnestly requested" that he would not "trouble himself" to answer his epistle; whereupon the hero of the "velveteen correspondence," who loves to take the world by surprise, instantly sent back, per penny post, the following pithy missive:—

"Sir Robert Peel presents his compliments to Mrs Mulock and begs leave to acknowledge the receipt of his communication of the 10th inst.

"Whitehall, 12th June, 1843." Mark the exquisite sarcasm that lies couched in this epistle! By the single addition of an *s* the caustic Junius-like premier converts Mr Mulock into Mrs Mulock, thereby delicately hinting his opinion that he is no better than an old woman! The duke in his way is not less biting, as will be seen by the following note, which needs nothing but grammar to make it a perfect model of epistolary composition:—

"London, June 15, 1843.

"Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments. As it appears that Mr Mulock has addressed the minister, the duke concludes that he will give him an answer. He is one of the *few men* in these days who *does not* meddle with questions over which they have no control." We have a great respect for the Duke of Wellington, as it becomes us to have for the conqueror of Napoleon; and it is this feeling which induces us to express a hope that, when he next pens an epistle, he will bear in mind that good old rule in syntax which states that "plural nominatives will have a verb plural."—Sun.

Lord Morpeth is expected by many to be soon in Parliament again for Sheffield. Mr Parker is certainly to resign, but there is yet some question as to whether Mr Ward will do so also. He himself has announced his intention of retiring from parliament at the close of the present session, but strong endeavours are being made to prevail upon him to change his determination in this respect. Indeed, Mr Ward's loss would be a serious one to the liberal cause in the house.—*Glasgow paper*.

NO ACCOUNTING FOR TASTE.—A morning paper assures us, that everybody—high and low—at Kew, "loves and admires the King of Hanover!"

Religious Intelligence.

ST ANDREW'S.—On Tuesday and Wednesday, June 6 and 7, services were held for the purpose of setting apart Mr T. P. Henderson to the pastoral office over the English baptist church in St Andrew's, the ancient capital of Scotland. On the former evening the Rev. Francis Johnston of Cupar preached. On Wednesday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, service was commenced. Mr Johnston read the Scriptures and prayed. The Rev. James Blair of Dunfermline proposed the questions and offered the ordination prayer; after which, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, the Rev. James Clark of Newington delivered a discourse on 1 Thes. v. 25. In the afternoon Mr Blair addressed the church; and in the evening the Rev. James Taylor, A.M., of the United Secession church, St Andrew's, delivered a discourse on Gal. iii. 28, last clause.

WORSTEAD, NORFOLK.—Rev. C. T. Steen, of Exeter, has accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the baptist church at Worstead, and has entered on the duties of that station.

WELSH REFORMERS.—On Tuesday, the 20th ult., that indefatigable and talented reformer, Griffith Evans, Esq., of Maesypandy, Merionethshire, delivered a lecture in Welsh, on "Christian Union," to a numerous and very respectable audience, at the Guildford-street chapel, London. The original and startling views of the speaker seemed to produce a powerful effect on his hearers.

BRIXHAM, DEVON.—On Wednesday the 28th June, 1843, the independent chapel, newly erected in this populous town, for the better accommodation of Mr Lewis, home missionary, and his increasing congregation, was opened for public worship. The Rev. Thomas Stenner of Dartmouth offered up the dedication prayer. The Rev. W. Tarbotton of Totness, read the Scriptures and prayed. The Rev. T. C. Hines of Plymouth preached a sermon distinguished for eloquence and pathos, from John viii, 36, "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." The Rev. P. Ainstie, the baptist minister of Brixham, concluded the morning service by prayer. In the afternoon, the Rev. W. H. Brewer, the baptist minister of Dartmouth, read the scriptures and prayed. The Rev. John Orange of Torquay preached from Psalm lxxvii. 6, "The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there." The sermon was distinguished for perspicuity and elegance of diction. The Rev. John George of Dittisham, home missionary, concluded with prayer. In the evening the scriptures were read and prayer offered by the Rev. W. Wreyford of Buckfastleigh. The Rev. John Pyer of Devonport preached from Col. i. 27, "Christ in you the hope of glory;" a sermon containing powerful appeals to the conscience, and eminently calculated, by God's blessing, to produce the most beneficial effects. The Rev. T. Bursey, the Wesleyan minister of Brixham, concluded the services of the interesting day with a suitable prayer. Hymns prepared and printed for the occasion were read by the Rev. Messrs Gough, Ellis (home missionary), Flavell Stenner, George, and Lewis the minister of the place. The congregation were numerous, especially the one in the evening, when the chapel was literally

crammed, while many were unable to obtain admission. The chapel, in the area, is capable of seating five hundred persons. It has cost the sum of eight hundred and sixty pounds, towards which Christian friends and the public have contributed the sum of six hundred and sixty pounds, leaving a debt of two hundred. A copy of "Bagster's Comprehensive Bible," magnificently bound, with a copy of Dr Watts' Psalms and Hymns, and a copy of the Congregational Hymn book, were kindly and generously given to the church and congregation, for the use of the pulpit, by the Rev. Bathurst Woodman, of Romsey, Hants, who once was located in the neighbourhood of Brixham.

PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF THE REV. A. SCALES, AT STOWMARKET.—On Wednesday last, June 28th, this gentleman, late a student at the Airedale academy, and son of the Rev. Thomas Scales of Leeds, was publicly recognised as co-pastor with the Rev. W. Ward, of the independent church, Stowmarket. The usual introductory address was delivered by the Rev. John Alexander, of Norwich, who explained the nature of the independent churches, and stated with the utmost explicitness the real grounds of dissent, both from the doctrines of the episcopal sect and from every established church, whatever were its doctrines. Mr A. claimed for religion the right of being wholly and absolutely beyond the control of civil rulers, a spiritual kingdom subject only to the laws of its great Head. The ordination prayer was offered by the Rev. Walter Scott, principal of Airedale college. The usual questions were put by the Rev. W. Garthwaite, of Wattisfield, and the charge—earnest, affectionate, explicit, and comprehensive, was delivered by the Rev. Thomas Scales of Leeds. In the evening the Rev. Dr Leifchild addressed to the people a masterly epitome of their duties in relation to their pastor and to each other. After the morning service a numerous party of ministers and gentlemen dined together at the Corn exchange, the chair being taken by Mr Ward, the venerable and highly esteemed pastor of the church. In returning thanks for his health being drunk, the Rev. Walter Scott remarked on the result of the recent struggle against the Factories bill, and enforced upon the company that the great duty of dissenters, and the only mode of saving themselves from continual aggressions of the same kind, was to labour for the separation of the church from the state, for the deliverance of religion from the trammels of secular interference. The same sentiment was urged by the Rev. Thomas Scales, who adduced several facts proving that in the north of England the people were generally alive to their duties on the subject; and added that within the present week he knew many of the London ministers were to meet for the purpose of determining "what next," and of considering the most effectual means of working out the only useful result. These sentiments and statements were received by the company in a way which shows that the dissenters of Suffolk are beginning to be conscious of the duties which devolve upon Christian men where a state church exists with all its blighting influences on religion, and its inevitable hostility to the welfare of society.

BARTON MILLS, SUFFOLK.—The ceremony of laying the first stone of the new chapel in course of erection in this village, took place on Monday the 26th ult. Tea was provided for the schools and congregation connected with the place. At 6 o'clock a numerous assembly proceeded to the site of the new edifice; the Rev. J. Cranbrook of Soham engaged in prayer; the stone was then laid by the Rev. Jesse Hobson, and the address delivered by Edward Ball, Esq., of Burwell. The meeting then adjourned to the Old chapel; Edward Ball, Esq., was chosen president, and two addresses were delivered by the Rev. Jos. Elliot of Bury, on "The Principles of Nonconformity," and by the Rev. David Rees of Isleham, on "The Duties of Dissenters at the present Crisis."

BIRTHS.

June 28, at Ashton-under-Lyne, the wife of the Rev. S. W. STONE, of a daughter.

June 28, at Ashton-under-Lyne, the wife of the Rev. S. W. STONE, of a daughter.

June 28, at Lower Clapton, Mrs SAMUEL MORLEY, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

June 27, at the Independent chapel, Olney, Bucks, by the Rev. Isaac Vaughan, Mr JOSEPH BAINES, grocer and draper, of Kimbolton, to Miss LUCY CATHERINE BERRILL, of the former place.

June 28, at the Baptist chapel, Regent street, Lambeth, by the Rev. John Clarke, missionary from Fernando Po, R. B. SHERING, Esq., of Bristol, to CLARA V. RYLEY, daughter of John Ryley, Esq., of Leicester.

June 26, at the Congregational chapel, Hungerford, by the Rev. R. Frost, Mr J. CADMAN, to Miss HANNAH TUBE, both of that place.

June 28, at Townhead street chapel, Sheffield, by the Rev. C. LARON, Mr ROBERT NORTH, of the Stamp Office, to Miss HANNAH HOWARD, eldest daughter of Mr John Howard, lancet manufacturer.

DEATHS.

June 26, at Brading, Isle of Wight, at an advanced age, the mother of "Little Jane, the Young Cottager," rendered so peculiarly interesting from the tracts of the Rev. Leigh Richmond, formerly vicar of that parish.

June 30, of scarlet fever, SAMUEL JERARD, son of the Rev. J. CHATER, of Newton Abbot, aged three years.

June 24, at the Archbishop of Armagh's mansion, Charles street, St James's square, Lady CATHERINE BERESFORD, second daughter of the first Marquis of Waterford, and aunt of the present Marquis.

June 27, after a short illness, JOHN MURRAY, Esq., of Albermarle street, in the 60th year of his age.

June 28, in Connaught square, London, after a short but severe illness, in the 31st year of her age, JANE MATILDA, the beloved wife of William SCOLEFIELD, Esq., of Birmingham.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, June 30.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV, cap. 55:—

Dissenting meeting-house, Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire. F. Barlow, superintendent registrar.

Trinity chapel, Sudbury, Suffolk. E. Stedman, superintendent registrar.

Woodchester Baptist chapel, Woodchester, Gloucestershire.

A. J. Driver, superintendent registrar.

Moriah Calvinistic chapel, Carnarvon. J. Thomas, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SANDON, FRANCIS, Rugeley, Staffordshire, cabinet maker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSDED.

SHAW, WILLIAM, Bleathgill, Westmoreland, cattle dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLEN, ANDREW and WILLIAM, South Shields, Durham, drapers, to surrender July 14, August 14: solicitors, Mr H. Ingledew, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Messrs Williamson and Hill, Gray's inn, London.

CHALK, THOMAS PATMORE, Linton, Cambridgeshire, draper, July 12, August 11: solicitors, Messrs Wiglesworth and Co., Gray's inn, London.

GORDON, DANIEL GLASSFORD, 7, Mortimer street, Cavendish square, merchant, July 7, August 8: solicitors, Messrs Finch and Neate, 57, Lincoln's inn fields.

JENKINS, JOHN, Cwmbran, Monmouthshire, shopkeeper, July 13, August 11: solicitors, Messrs Protheroe and Towgood, Newport, and Mr Hall, New Boswell court, Lincoln's inn fields, London.

MANNING, SOLLAY JOSEPH, 28, Camomile street, London, and of Halleford, near Shepperton, Middlesex, manufacturer of buttons, July 7, August 11: solicitor, Mr Moss, Queen street, Cheap-side.

FROTHORPE, PHIZZIN and MARK DAVIS, Bristol, West India merchants, July 13, August 11: solicitor, Mr F. Short, Bristol.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CHRISTIE, JAMES, Leith, merchant, July 5, August 22.

DAWSON, JOHN and WILLIAM, Alva, manufacturers, July 5, 26.

Tuesday, July 4.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV, cap. 55:—

The Wesley chapel, Burnley, Lancashire. Richard Shaw, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

KING, WILLIAM HUME, KING, HENRY, and KING, DAVID, Old Street road, and Horn's row, Shoreditch, coach builders.

■ WHEELER, JOHN, Princes street, Hanover square, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

BOURNE, HENRY, now of Wolsingham, Durham, and late of Wigton, Cumberland, brewer, July 17, Aug. 14: solicitors, Messrs Nicholls and Doyle, 8, Cook's court, Lincoln's inn, London, and Mr Richard Thompson, Durham.

BOYD, JOSEPH, 189 and 190, Piccadilly, publican, July 10, August 15: solicitors, Messrs Parkinson and Hayton, 2, Field court, Gray's inn.

BRITTON, JOHN, Darlington, Durham, innkeeper, July 14, August 22: solicitors, Mr A. T. Stevenson, Darlington, and Mr Adam Burn, Doctors' commons, London.

CLEVERLEY, GEORGE, Calne, Wiltshire, builder, July 13, Aug. 18: solicitors, Messrs Jones and Blaxland, London, and Messrs Timbrell and Co., Bradford, Wiltshire.

CLINCH, JOHN, King street, Hammersmith, omnibus proprietor, July 12, August 9: solicitor, Mr Jennings, High street, Notting hill, and 15, Cook's court, Carey street, Lincoln's inn field.

GARVIE, NICHOLAS, 1, Rahere street, St Luke's, tailor, July 20, Aug. 12: solicitor, Mr John Henry Anderson, 80, Cornhill.

HARRIS, ABRAHAM, Sharp's buildings, Tower hill, slopseller, July 12, Aug. 15: solicitor, Mr M. Lewis, Arundel street, Strand.

HODGES, JAMES, Wolverhampton, stock lock maker, July 13, Aug. 10: solicitor, Mr Pinchard, Wolverhampton.

KENRICK, THOMAS, 297, Oxford street, horse dealer, July 11, August 9: solicitor, Mr Foster, Jermyn street, St James's.

POLAK, SAMUEL, Newport, Monmouthshire, woollen draper, July 12, Aug. 9: solicitors, Messrs Reed and Shaw, 2, Friday street, Cheapside, London.

SHARRATT, CHARLES, Walsall, Staffordshire, saddler, July 19, August 11: solicitors, Messrs Manby and Hawkesford, Wolverhampton.

WYER, HORATIO, 33 and 34, Newington causeway, Surrey, tailer, July 10, August 15: solicitors, Messrs Smith and Atkins, Sergeant's inn, Fleet street.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Boss, WILLIAM, Kincardine, fisher, July 10, August 7.

Clark, JOSEPH, Edinburgh, spirit dealer, July 10, August 4.

Hardie, JOHN, Borrowstounness, Linlithgowshire, corn merchant, July 8, 29.

Purves, JAMES, Galashiels, ironmonger, July 11, August 8.

Smith, JOHN, Nairn, surgeon, July 11, August 1.

Thomson, HUGH, Paisley, ironmonger, July 11, August 1.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto for Opening ..	94½	94	93½	93½	93½	93½
3 per cents Reduced ..	95	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½
3½ per cts. Reduced ..	100½	101½	100½	100½	100½	100½
New 3½ per cent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Long Annuities ..	12½	12½	12½	—	12½	12½
Bank Stock ..	181	179½	180½	—	—	—
India Stock ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills ..	50pm	48pm	50pm	50pm	50pm	50pm
India Bonds ..	63pm	—	—	—	—	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	Mexican	28½
Belgian	103	Peruvian
Brazilian	71	Portuguese 5 per cents
Buenos Ayres	25	Ditto 3 per cents
Columbian	23	29
Danish	—	Russian
Dutch 2½ per cts	54½	Spanish Active
Ditto 5 per cents	100½	19
		Ditto Passive
		4½
		Ditto Deferred
		10½

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby ..	London and Brighton ..	33½
Birmingham & Gloucester ..	London & Croydon Trunk ..	10½
Blackwall ..	London and Greenwich ..	4½
Bristol and Exeter ..	Ditto New	55½
Cheltenham & Gt. Western ..	Manchester & Birn.	22½
Eastern Counties	Manchester and Leeds ..	8½
Edinburgh and Glasgow ..	Midland Counties	6½
Great North of England ..	Ditto Quarter Shares ..	16½
Great Western	North Midland	7½
Ditto New	Ditto New	34
Ditto Fifth	South Eastern and Dover ..	17
London and Birmingham ..	South Western	21½
Ditto Quarter Shares	Ditto New	64½

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, July 3.

The supply of wheat from the home counties was small, and the greater part was taken off at an advance of fully 1s. per qr. Of free foreign we had also an increased demand, and the trade was 1s. dearer.

We have a demand for barley beyond the supply, and this article is full 1s. per qr dearer.

Beans and peas a ready sale at our last currency.

Some arrivals of Irish oats are fresh up this morning. The trade, though not so brisk as last week, must be quoted 6d. per qr higher.

Wheat, Red New ..	46 to 51	2.	2.

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THE NONCONFORMIST.

Advertisements.

On Saturday next, published,

THE FUNERAL SERMON for the Rev. JOSEPH FLETCHER, D.D., late of Stepney. By Rev. RALPH WARDLAW, D.D. Together with the FUNERAL ORATION delivered by the Rev. H. F. BURDER, D.D.

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THE LAST DAYS: containing a New Interpretation of the Seventh Trumpet—Effusion of the Vials—Infidel King—Great Tribulation—Battle of Armageddon—Coming of the Son of Man—and Harvest of the Earth.

"Many works on prophecy are so dogmatically written, that we feel the more pleasure in perusing the present volume."—*Church of England Quarterly Review*.

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AT a MEETING of the SOUTH LONDON COMMITTEE, appointed for watching the progress of the Factories Bill, held at LION STREET SCHOOL ROOM, WALWORTH, JULY 4, 1843,

JOHN BROWN, Esq., in the Chair.

It was resolved—

"1. That in the judgment of this Committee it is desirable to avail ourselves of the present opportunity to call a General Meeting of the Friends of Education residing in this district, with the view to ascertain the present state of education therein, and to devise means of promoting its extension."

"2. To recommend the delivery of lectures throughout the district on the rights of conscience, the legitimate province of government, and the general principles of civil and religious liberty; and this Committee undertake to provide for a course on these subjects at the earliest convenient opportunity."

JOHN BROWN, Chairman.
DANIEL PRATT, Secretary.

FACTORIES EDUCATION BILL.

AT a MEETING of the SOUTH LONDON COMMITTEE for watching the progress of the FACTORIES BILL, held at LION STREET SCHOOL ROOM, WALWORTH, July 4, 1843,

JOHN BROWN, Esq., in the Chair.

It was resolved—

"1. That while this Committee, in their opposition to the Factories Bill lately before the House of Commons, abstained from expressing an opinion on the principle of compulsory education, under control of government officers, now that the Bill requiring it is again before the House, they feel called upon to denounce that principle, believing that in legislating on this subject the Government steps out of its legitimate province, interferes with the natural rights of parents, limits and perverts the true object of all good education—which is to form an intelligent, free, and virtuous people, and creates a necessity for the dangerous principles of centralisation, covering the country with a paid agency, which may be employed for purposes most pernicious to the best interests of the nation."

"2. That whatever may be the amount of ignorance and demoralisation in some parts of the Factory districts, this Committee believe that the statements on that subject laid before Parliament are partial and unjust; rendering, therefore, all legislation, founded on their statements, in a high degree unfair to both factory masters and operatives. This Committee deem that all that is to be desired in the case is, that with the facts clearly and truly brought out, the Legislature should provide that factory children shall be exempted from labour during a sufficient number of hours in the day to allow of their being properly instructed, the progress of voluntary education during the last few years warranting the belief, that ignorance and demoralisation will rapidly diminish."

"3. That this Committee regard the provisions of the Bill as now before Parliament with great jealousy and alarm, seeing that—1. They subject all schools, where factory children may be placed by their parents, to an intrusive and dangerous inspection by government officers, who may pronounce on the fitness of the master, on the suitability of the school room, on the adequacy of the provision of books, and other requisites, and may compel what would be virtually the teaching of religion to protestant children. 2. They invidiously exempt the religious instruction given under direction of a minister of the established church from inspection, and say nothing of other religious instruction; thus countenancing the arrogant pretension, that the established church is the sole or supreme instructress of the nation, and inviting the intrusion of the clergy of that church as the religious instructors of all. 3. They still make attendance at school the condition of employment; thus interfering with the free and most advantageous disposal of labour, the only property the operatives have to dispose of. And, 4, by ruinous fine on parents for neglecting to send their children to school, they may be made the instruments of most grinding oppression. This committee further regard the power of entry into a school at any hour secured to inspectors and sub-inspectors, with constables and assistants, and the right of examination, and of enforcing on any person whom they may so examine the signing of declarations, even self-incriminatory, fenced as that power is with a heavy fine, as, in the highest degree, un-English, arbitrary, and tyrannical—especially when those inspectors may become both accusers and witnesses in all cases where they shall deem that the law has been violated. On these accounts, therefore, this Committee deprecate the passing of the Bill as re-committed, and are anxious that their representatives in Parliament should meet it with all the opposition in their power."

"4. That this Committee are by no means the less inclined to oppose the bill on the ground of its re-enacting what, in reference to education, is at present law. Many of its provisions are not the law of the land; and though the minister has disclaimed the intention of forcing through Parliament a bill for national education under control of the state church, some of those provisions cannot but be regarded as preparing for such an education to be required at a more convenient season. This committee call upon the friends of freedom, therefore, and especially upon dissenters, to watch with the utmost care all the proceedings of government in this matter, and to be prepared at any moment to renew their opposition to measures injurious to the interests alike of education, of liberty, and justice."

"5. That a Petition, founded on these resolutions, were prepared and signed by the Chairman and Secretary, praying that the House would repeal all the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill, and also repeal all laws which may now compel the education of factory children."

JOHN BROWN, Chairman.
DANIEL PRATT, Secretary.

JOHN BLACKBURN, Printer, 6, Hatton Garden, presents his most grateful acknowledgements to his kind Friends and Patrons who have entrusted to his hands, since he first entered into business, the Printing of various important Books, Reports, Magazines, and other miscellaneous works. Possessed of a practical acquaintance with the art in all its branches, he is happy to be able to state that the productions of his press have given general satisfaction, and obtained public commendation for taste and accuracy.

Finding that he is not equal to the management of his increasing business, without the assistance of some confidential person, he has resolved to secure the services of an efficient Partner, who, by additional attention and skill, might aid him in promptly executing the commands of his numerous friends.

J. BLACKBURN is happy to announce that he has formed such a connexion with Mr BENJAMIN PARDON, who for many years was engaged in the eminent Printing Office of Mr SAMUEL BAGSTER, of Bartholomew Close, and, since his decease, has continued to manage the same for Mr RIDER, the successor of that gentleman, up to the present time (a period of nearly thirteen years); and who, with that knowledge of Typography, in all its departments, which experience alone can give, has secured the confidence and commendations of those gentlemen with whom he transacted business.

BLACKBURN and PARDON

beg to announce to Publishers, Authors, Editors, and Literary Gentlemen, to the Officers of Religious and other Institutions, and to the Public in general, that at their Office, which is conveniently situate for the despatch of business, they possess every facility for the Printing of works of any magnitude. Employing steam power, as well as hand presses, they can promise the prompt as well as the superior execution of the orders with which they may favour them; which, being combined with moderate charges and personal assiduity, encourages them to hope that they shall enjoy the continued confidence and support of their Friends, and the Public at large.

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THIS COMMITTEE of the YOUNG MEN of LONDON, appointed to oppose the Educational Clauses of the FACTORIES BILL.—At a Meeting of the Committee on the 26th June, 1843, it was unanimously resolved—

"1. That, in the opinion of this Committee, the conduct of Sir James Graham in reference to the Factories Bill is most dishonourable; for, notwithstanding his professed withdrawal of the Educational Clauses of the bill, many yet remain *verbal* in all their odiousness—others have been altered without notice to that effect—and one (clause 61), inflicting a penalty on the poor, has been increased in severity.

"2. That the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill still demand the censure and the opposition of every lover of liberty and religion;—because they permit government interference in religion—sanction compulsory education—jeopardise existing schools for the poor—interfere by tests with the right of men to teach—and allow (by implication) the examination of religious instruction given by Dissenters, while that which is imparted by the state-paid clergy (into which only the nation has a *right* to inquire) is expressly forbidden to be inspected."

GEORGE SIMMONS, Chairman.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

AT the ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION of BAPTIST CHURCHES, held on the 8th and 9th days of June, 1843, at HONITON, it was resolved that the following fraternal address to the Moderator, Ministers, and Elders of the Free and Protestant Church of Scotland be adopted by this Association, signed by the Moderator and Secretary on behalf of the Association, and forwarded to Dr Chalmers, the Moderator of the Scottish Church.

To the Moderator, Elders, and Members of the Free and Protestant Church of Scotland, the Elders and Messengers of the Western Association of Baptist Churches, met in Annual Assembly at Honiton, in the County of Devon, June 7th and 8th, 1843, send Christian and fraternal salutation.

Honoured Brethren,

Your present position and recent magnanimous and Christian conduct impel us to convey to you the expression of our sincere sympathy and fraternal regard.

We have been no indifferent spectators of the conflict in which you have been engaged for some years past, and we cannot but regard its momentous issue as equally honourable to your conscientiousness and integrity, and pregnant with consequences to the cause of pure and undefiled religion and religious freedom, which it is all but impossible to appreciate too highly.

Differing from the venerable founders of your church polity in regard to one of the most solemn and important ordinances of Christian worship and to the platform of ecclesiastical discipline and government, we are not insensible of the imperishable benefits which their writings have conferred upon the universal church of Christ, nor ungrateful for the services which they have rendered to the interests of civil and religious liberty by their sufferings and labours. In resisting the encroachments and corruptions inseparable from the pre-latical pretensions of our national hierarchy, we have been accustomed to regard the pious and devoted ministers and members of the Kirk of Scotland as our coadjutors and allies; and, in unyielding firmness and transparent integrity, as our examples and guides; and no part of our national history has awakened within us a deeper sympathy, or has ministered more to our instruction and profit, than those which record the protracted struggles of your forefathers against the same tyranny.

Your names, honoured brethren, will go down to a distant posterity, embalmed with even greater fragrance than theirs, inasmuch as your magnanimity and decision in the crisis of your integrity and conscientiousness, unalloyed by an appeal to carnal weapons, will achieve a bloodless and peaceful victory for the cause in maintaining which they fought and died; and it would ill become any one of the sections of our British Zion, agreeing with you in the great and fundamental doctrines of Evangelical truth, and in comparison with which the points which divide them from you are only as the chaff to the wheat, not to wish you every degree of success and prosperity which you can yourselves either expect or desire. We freely accord to you, as to every section of the Christian church, and to every individual Christian, the full and candid expression, and the vigorous maintenance of your conscientious opinions; and while you will not expect us to sympathise in your avowed adherence to the principle of a state establishment of Christianity, or in any of your movements springing legitimately and exclusively from that principle, you will permit us thus respectfully and affectionately to convey to you our deliberate conviction and our devout expectation that your voluntary disengagement from state alliance and support will be found to facilitate, beyond your present expectations, those sacred objects for which you have made such costly sacrifices, and which we hold in common with yourselves.

Be assured, therefore, honoured brethren, that in all your Christian labours for the welfare of your fatherland, and for the promotion of vital and saving Christianity, and in all the sacrifices already incurred, or hereafter awaiting you, of our fraternal and admiring sympathy, and of our most devout and earnest good wishes.

May He who has prepared you by his grace so honourably to meet the crisis through which you have passed, and conferred on you the distinguished favour of occupying the exemplary position in relation to the rights of conscience and of religious freedom, so grateful to the real friends, and so confounding to the enemies or contemners of honest and independent religious profession now assigned you, ever shield you by his favour, and direct and succeed all your purposes and efforts for his glory.

We are, honoured brethren,

Your friends and coadjutors in the kingdom

and suffering of Jesus Christ,

JOHN TITHERINGTON, Moderator.

HENRY TREND, Secretary.

On behalf of the Association.

That the address thus agreed to be inserted in the *Baptist Magazine*, and in the *Nonconformist* and *Patriot* newspapers.

HENRY TREND, Secretary.

A YOUNG LADY, accustomed to Tuition, wishes to meet with a re-engagement in a School or Private Family. She can undertake to complete a solid English Education, with the rudiments of French and Drawing.

Satisfactory reference can be given. Apply A. B., Mr Weatheritt, Stationer, Coventry.

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J. T. Conquest, M.D., F.L.S.	Thomas Bevan, M.D., F.L.S.
SOLICITORS—Messrs Hardwick and Davidson.	
This Institution completed the Seventh Year of its establishment on the 15th of December, 1842, and, in accordance with a Rule made at its commencement, a careful valuation of its Liabilities and Assets has been made by an eminent Actuary (Charles Ansell, Esq.), for the purpose of making the first division of profits amongst its Members, the gratifying result of which is exemplified in the following instances, showing the profit assigned to policies which have existed from one to seven years:	
Years.	Years.
7	59
6	52
5	51
4	42
3	46
2	63
1	42

Policies in Existence.	Age at Commencement.	Sum Assured.	Amount of Bonus.	Original Premium.	Reduction in Premium in lieu of Bonus.	Equal to Reduction per Cent. on the Original Premium of
Years.	Years.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
7	59	1,000	163 11 0	63 0 0	27 17 2	44
6	52	2,000	227 19 0	97 11 8	34 5 10	35
5	51	1,000	91 3 0	47 2 6	13 6 4	28
4	42	500	28 19 0	17 13 1	3 13 3	20
3	46	800	37 8 0	31 18 8	4 18 10	15
2	63	3,000	140 15 0	224 15 0	23 11 7	10
1	42	2,000	26 14			